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THE LATEST  
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## Bases are Lebanon stumbling block

There was a question mark last week over whether Israel will be flexible over its demand for early-warning bases in Lebanon. The Lebanese government is opposed to any retention of such bases by the Israel Defence Forces, a stand endorsed by Washington.

Lebanese officials say further that Syria will refuse to withdraw its army from Lebanon if Israel continues to demand three to five supervisory stations as a condition for withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

Another sticking point is that Lebanon and the U.S. believe that Syria will refuse to withdraw if Major Sa'ad Haddad's militia, which is supported by Israel, is to police the south after an IDF pullout.

After a series of speeches last week by Israel's political and military leaders, insisting on the stations (see page 4), Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir hinted over the weekend that Israel might consider an alternative to the bases.

Shamir took a similar line earlier last week on Israel's Arabic-language television. In both cases, his approach seemed diametrically opposed to that of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, who has declared that Israel's demand for such stations was ultimate.

On Saturday's weekly radio newsreel, in response to the interviewer's assertion that several ministers had questioned Israel's need for the stations, Shamir said that nobody had suggested an alternative — hinting that Israel would be open to such suggestions.

Both the Beirut government and Washington were taken aback last week — as were Israeli cabinet ministers — to learn that what Israel means by "early warning stations"



A unit of Israeli soldiers takes cover after a Katyusha rocket exploded last week near the hotel in Halde where Israel-Lebanon peace talks are being held. The soldiers on the left (backs to camera) are from the Lebanese army. One Israeli soldier was slightly injured. The shell was fired from territory controlled by the Lebanese army. (UPI Telephone)

are in fact "anti-terrorist supervisory" bases, to be manned by sizable army units which would take part in physically policing the southern Lebanon security zone.

The U.S. feels that Israel — and the accusatory finger is pointed at Defence Minister Sharon — was guilty of double-talk on this key issue.

The Lebanese negotiators at

Halde and Kiryat Shmona apparently had no inkling of Israel's true intention — to judge by their shocked and angry reactions when the matter was explained to them by Israel's delegation head, Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche, and Aluf Avraham Tamir.

Even in the informal "framework agreement" which Sharon concluded in December with close ad-

visers to President Amin Gemayel, the term used was "early warning stations." This is the term that was used to define the electronic sensor stations in Sinai. It connotes an electronic intelligence-gathering facility, not a garrison-type army post, which is clearly what Sharon has in mind.

Israel Radio reported Premier Menachem Begin's "growing pes-

simism" as to U.S. envoy Philip Habib's ability to obtain a withdrawal commitment from the Syrians.

Syria's earlier public statements of readiness to leave Lebanon have not been rescinded. The U.S. fears however, that as time passes — and as the Soviets bolster Syria's air defenses, ravaged in the June war with the IDF — Syria's desire to pull out is growing less acute.

The U.S. is deeply angered over allegations in Israel government quarters that Habib and his deputy Morris Draper have persuaded the Lebanese to adopt intransigent positions to further broader American interests in the Arab Middle East. The Americans are anxious that the Halde-Kiryat Shmona talks continue — so that Israel be exposed directly to the strength of Lebanese feeling on these key disputed issues.

The delegation of Israel, Lebanon and the U.S. have established sub-committees to deal with specific areas of the negotiations, such as security/withdrawal.

On another key issue of dispute, the future role of UNIFIL in South Lebanon, the U.S. feels that Israeli government officials exaggerate the UN force's past shortcomings to win public support for the demand that the force be removed. While UNIFIL — particularly certain of its contingents — did fail in the U.S. view, too, to live up to expectations, Washington believes in the basic utility of the force as a prop to Lebanon's own army. (Washington feels that harassment by Haddad's men was an important factor in UNIFIL's past inadequacies.)

Jemayel strongly insists on the need for UNIFIL and/or mul-

(Continued on page 2.)

## Stock investors baffled after trauma

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN  
Post Finance Reporter

The dramatic events on the stock exchange in recent days left investors suspended on a roller-coaster. In five trading sessions, prices of shares registered on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange tumbled precipitously, and a rally on Wednesday and Thursday only slightly made up for the erosion in prices and the losses in the market values of shares — estimated to be more than IS1.5 billion.

The cause of the all-time high selling wave and a one-day record high trading turnover of IS3.3b. was a newspaper story on January 20 reporting that the Treasury intended to impose far-reaching curbs on mutual funds. Some of the following statistics tell only a part of the tale of the market's erosion.

The General Share Index fell, in the course of one week, by nearly 10

per cent. If the commercial banks are excluded, the share market in toto fell by almost 16 per cent.

Special financial institutions saw their shares fall by more than 21 per cent. The insurance sector suffered a loss of more than 26 per cent, similar to the loss suffered by service companies. Industrials fell by nearly 19 per cent.

Fears about the bull market developed on January 6, when Dr. Meir Hah, chairman of the board of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, resigned from his post because he felt that he could not obtain the necessary backing for far-reaching reforms of the capital market. This included changes in the regulations governing the floating of new public finance issues on the exchange as well as in the regulations governing the management of mutual funds.

Exactly a week later Hah retracted his resignation in the aftermath of a lengthy board meeting during which the country's banking com-

munity expressed full confidence in his efforts to introduce changes in the Israeli capital market.

On January 20, the news leaked out, or was leaked, to one of the country's afternoon newspapers which proclaimed in bold headlines that the Treasury intended to impose curbs on mutual funds. Morning radio reports had suggested that on that day the Stock Exchange might decide to cancel trading altogether.

The fact that the exchange never intended to stop trading had little to do with the resulting near-panic conditions which triggered off selling from all parts of the country.

On the same day, more than 40 per cent of all shares registered for trading fell by margins of 5 per cent to 10 per cent. As mutual funds were besieged with selling orders for their units the managers in their turn were forced to sell shares.

On Sunday, January 23, the selling wave continued, as 107 issues were down by more than 5 per cent. The "Black Monday" which followed, saw 60 per cent of all shares registered for trading on the local exchange, absorbing losses of 5 per cent or more. The next day share turnover records fell as more than IS3.3 billion worth of

(Continued on page 2.)

### NEWSTAND PRICES IN LOCAL CURRENCY

Australia	\$1.20	Italy	L1,400
Canada	\$1.45	South Africa	Rd1.20
Denmark	DKR.30	Sweden	SKR.50
Germany	DM2.80	Switzerland	SFR.30
Holland	DFG.00	United Kingdom	60p
Israel	IS22.00	United States	\$1.25



### Navon's future

President Yitzhak Navon on Sunday informed Prime Minister Begin of his intentions when his term of office ends in May. Speculation that he would not stand for a second term and instead would return to politics has led to ferment in the Labour Party.

However, his return to politics would not be all smooth sailing. Whereas Labour Party leader Shimon Peres has said that he might make way for Navon, former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and some of his supporters might challenge Navon in any bid for party leadership. Opinion polls suggest that Navon would attract more votes for Labour than any other candidate. (See also Kollek predicts, page 9.)

## Begin asks Hussein to join the peace talks

Prime Minister Menachem Begin last week repeated an invitation to Jordan's King Hussein "to negotiate on the basis of the Camp David agreements with no pre-conditions in any sphere." The invitation came as the U.S. envoy in Amman was reported to have informed the State Department that Hussein would announce his readiness to join the U.S.-sponsored peace process on March 1.

Ambassador Richard Viets, in a secret cable sent earlier in January, said Hussein had informed him of his positive position, and that the king had received solid assurances from PLO chairman Yasser Arafat that he had backing from enough members of the PLO's executive committee who accepted the concept of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the proposed negotiations.

The Revolutionary Council of Arafat's mainline Fatah group ended a two-day meeting in South Yemen on Friday with a call for escalating the armed struggle in "all areas under Zionist occupation," according to a report by the Palestine news agency WAFA.

The communiqué, reportedly issued at the end of the meeting in Aden, was sharply anti-American, noting that the Palestinians were "currently being challenged by plots concocted by the U.S. and directly implemented by the racist Zionist tool and its agents."

Significantly, despite its strongly anti-American tone, the communiqué does not appear to have come out openly against the peace initiative launched by U.S. President Ronald Reagan last September, or

against Arafat's ongoing efforts to coordinate PLO strategy with Hussein within the framework of the American initiative.

In fact, it reconfirmed the position taken by a meeting of the PLO's top leadership in Aden last month, which pointedly failed to reject either the Reagan initiative or Arafat's rapprochement with Jordan. This led to a concerted attack on Arafat and his moderate line by Syria and its radical proteges in the PLO.

But the stress on militancy, which has emerged increasingly in mainstream PLO statements in recent weeks, is apparently intended as a signal to the pro-Syrian hardliners in the organization who are opposed to Arafat's strategy that the military option has not been ruled out, and can in fact be exercised concurrently with diplomacy.

The upcoming meeting in Algiers of the Palestine National Council, which is the only body authorized to change PLO policy, is expected to prove crucial to the future course of the organization by determining whether or not Arafat does have sufficient support to defy the hardliners and proceed with his current diplomatic offensive.

In Washington, visiting Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak told a delegation of American Jewish leaders that he is convinced that Hussein and Arafat are moving towards accepting Reagan's September 1 peace initiative as a basis for negotiations with Israel. "Arafat is a very moderate man," he said. "He is convinced of the (Reagan) initiative. They may speak



Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak meets with, left to right, Julius Berman, national chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and Egyptian Ambassador to the UN Ashraf Ghorbal, at the Egyptian Embassy in Washington. (UPI telephoto)

of the PLO initiative, but they support the Reagan initiative."

The Egyptian leader received some 30 Jewish leaders at the Egyptian Embassy last Friday morning. Later, several of them said they had been reassured by what they had heard.

"I think it went very well, very cordial," said Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress. That opinion was echoed by Julius Berman, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, who said that he was "reassured by Mr. Mubarak's commitment to the peace process."

Bronfman and Berman said their delegation had expressed to

Mubarak their unhappiness over the recent spate of "anti-Semitic" articles and cartoons appearing in the Egyptian news media. "He (Mubarak) quite assured us that there was some problem in the public opinion in Egypt but basically he is a staunch believer in peace and the peace treaty with Israel is in no danger," said Bronfman.

Meanwhile, the chairman of the Hebron area village leagues, Mohammed Nasser, told Israeli Bonds leaders in Jerusalem that the continued construction of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza is "an obstacle to peace," and called on Israel to freeze settlement there until a peace agreement is finalized between Israel and the Palestinians.

Nasser, an electrical engineer, told the delegates that the leagues — which believe in ending the Israeli occupation through non-violent means — are steadily increasing their support among the Arabs of the territories. They are planning a conference in about two weeks to expand the leagues into a broad political movement for peace with Israel. The conference is to be held three days before the PLO's congress in Algiers.

"We now represent the silent majority," claimed Nasser.

(Compiled from reports by David Bernstein, Wolf Blitzer, Judy Siegel and Charles Hoffman.)

## COMMENTARY

# The name's the game

By HIRSH GOODMAN

THE AMERICANS are beside themselves. Just over a week ago they were convinced that agreement in principle on the conditions of Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon had been reached, and then they were apparently slapped in the face by Israel's demand for three to five early-warning stations on Lebanese territory.

In fact, Israel's demand should have come as no surprise. From the very outset, Israel had demanded early-warning stations. The Americans never took the demand very seriously, being convinced that this was part of Israel's negotiating strategy.

Moreover, there were many Israelis who shared this view. Among them were several ministers, and many within the defence establishment.

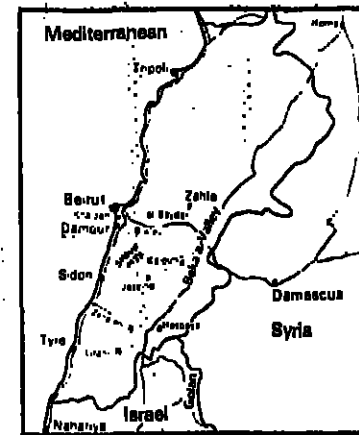
They, and the Americans, had underestimated the resolve of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon to come away from the negotiating table with as many tangible fruits of victory as possible to justify this controversial war, and to stymie any possible impact of the state inquiry commission's report on the Beirut camp massacres.

From the outset, Sharon (and probably Prime Minister Menachem Begin, too) has stated that he will settle for nothing less than normalization: a state of *de facto* peace; iron-clad security arrangements for the Galilee, including early-warning stations and the right to patrol Lebanese air and sea space; a total withdrawal of the Syrians and the PLO; a full exchange of prisoners, and a guarantee for the independent status of Major Sa'ad Haddad's forces in Southern Lebanon, even though he himself was not committed to the future of Haddad.

Each of these items carried equal weight and Sharon insists that all these conditions must be satisfied before the IDF pulls back. The only acceptable changes would be semantic.

SHARON'S RESOLVE to include the early-warning stations does not automatically mean that the demand is feasible. Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan said last Tuesday night that the stations were necessary, and went to great lengths to justify his claim. An electronic station in the region of Jebel Baruk would give Israel eyes where now it suffers from myopia: (in the direction of Iraq and Syria). In Nabatieh and Sidon Israel wants a military presence which would effectively prevent the return of the PLO to the south of the country.

It seems highly improbable that the Syrians will agree, even if the



Lebanese do; to an early-warning station on Jebel Baruk. There is no way the Syrians are going to withdraw from Lebanon and leave the IDF in a better military position *vis-a-vis* Syria's own defences. What incentive could Syria possibly have to withdraw entirely from Lebanon and make itself more vulnerable to Israel as a result?

Israel could probably do without the electronic station at Jebel Baruk. A station there would certainly be to Israel's advantage; as would a station in Turkey and another in Iran, but it hardly seems likely that if Israel attained all else at the negotiating table, it would risk a total breakdown of relations with Lebanon and the U.S. over Jebel Baruk.

The case of the other two stations — at Sidon and at Nabatieh, between the Zaharani and Litani Rivers — is different. In fact, Israel does not want early-warning stations there at all; rather it wants a military presence, with soldiers keeping track of what is happening in the south. Israel would like to have recognized bases in these two key former PLO centres so that travel by Israeli military vehicles through Southern Lebanon will not be seen as abnormal, but rather as commonplace; so that soldiers based there can maintain close contacts with local inhabitants who always know what is going on.

If THE negotiators decide to rename these two bases "liaison offices," the Lebanese will probably find it easier to agree. After all, it is logical that Israel maintain some type of military office to maintain contact with the Lebanese Army and the Multinational Force (at least for a transition period until security norms for southern

Lebanon have been established and kinks ironed out) if the deterrent force is to be taken seriously by the PLO.

This formula would probably be acceptable to the Syrians, too, for it could in no way be interpreted as a military threat to Syria. It may even justify a Syrian request for similar bases in areas of strategic interest to that country.

While Lebanon would obviously prefer a total withdrawal of all foreign forces (excluding the Multinational Force) from its territory, it could live with a limited Israeli and Syrian presence, especially if there was a time limit on the presence and if the Lebanese knew that there was no alternative.

BASICALLY, therefore, the problem could be solved by using different words. The question is whether Israel really wants to resolve the issue, or whether the early-warning stations are not simply a ploy to prolong the negotiating process still further.

There are those who say that Begin and Sharon would rather not conclude any agreement on Lebanon until the political future of their government is clearer. Any benefits derived by Begin from a breakthrough now could be washed away by the findings of the commission; conversely, success in Lebanon could be an electoral asset if new elections are dictated when the commission's report is published.

There are others who say that the government is holding the Lebanese talks hostage, and that Israel will relent only when American pressure to conform with the Reagan Peace Plan is relaxed.

They could all be wrong. Perhaps it is dangerous to interpret events instead of accepting them at face value. Begin and Sharon need to produce a success. They have to secure long-term security for northern Israel or they will have lost their credibility. They will not settle for a cosmetic solution, because they cannot risk the PLO returning to South Lebanon, even if this means a long, long stay for the IDF.

There is both a case for the early-warning station and a solution to the problems they have caused. Perhaps if there were less rhetoric and less interpretation, a mutually acceptable solution could be found without Israel and America having to go through yet another bout of fraternal infighting.

There are, after all, enough real issues to fight about.

The writer is the defence correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

## Or nut-to-be



Almond blossoms are the traditional harbinger of Tu B'Shvat, the new year of trees. The delicate pink-and-white flowers are already blooming in the Shefela. In time for tomorrow's holiday. They are expected to appear in Israel's colder, mountainous regions next week.

Almonds themselves play a toothsome role in the culinary traditions of nearly every sector of Israeli society. European Jews may favour almonds ground and sweetened to form marzipan, while Oriental Jews serve them pickled, with the outside husk intact. Almost everyone enjoys snacking on the unadulterated nut: Israel's Arabs prefer them with the husk, while the green almond still resembles a fuzzy, unripe apricot.

In Israel's Christian communities, sap of the versatile almond tree is made into incense for use in church rites.

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## INVESTORS BAFFLED

(Continued from page 1)

shares were traded. More selling was responsible for additional heavy losses, and no fewer than nine individual securities saw their prices lowered by more than 45 per cent.

Over the four day period of intensive selling, the shares of the country's commercial banks not only were stable but most of these advances of moderate margins, lending to the confirmation of the general public belief that the shares of commercial banks are "blue chip" investments.

Last Thursday, January 27, in a stunning rally, 361 shares zoomed ahead by margins of 15 per cent, and investors' confidence was

slightly restored.

On Friday, confusion once again reigned supreme as a headline story in a morning newspaper suggested that the Treasury would take steps to lower the prices of commercial bank shares. These had not only weathered the storm, but had actually moved ahead during the week under review. The Treasury immediately announced that it had no intention of interfering in the price of the shares of either commercial banks or of other shares.

Nevertheless investors were left in a state of bewilderment. However, bank shares were firm when trading resumed this week, on Sunday. (See also page 20.)

## BASES ARE STUMBLING BLOCK

(Continued from page 1)

tinational force support for his still-weak army if it is to shoulder responsibility for the security of the south.

Some officials in Washington clearly suspect that some Israeli policymakers — like some Lebanese Christian figures — secretly hope for a stalemate that would leave Lebanon effectively divided into various zones, with a deep and ongoing Israeli presence protecting the Christian enclave and the Syrians looking after their Moslem allies.

At the root of the current U.S.-Israel "unpleasant quasi-confrontation," as seen in Washington, is a gap in conceptions. The U.S. insists that it has a commitment to Lebanon *qua* Lebanon, a commitment which evolved out of the 1982 war, but Israel suspects the U.S. of

seeking to extract from the Lebanon crisis political leverage that would enable it to impose the Reagan plan for a broader Middle East peace.

In Washington last week, Secretary of State George Shultz said that Prime Minister Begin was "always welcome" in the U.S., but went on to confirm that a planned visit was being delayed because of the dragging Israeli-Lebanese negotiations.

The Secretary said that "the date hasn't been set" for Begin's visit. The Reagan Administration has openly stepped up its public pressure on Israel to make more concessions in the Lebanese troop withdrawal negotiations.

The State Department said last week that the U.S. was "extremely concerned" about the slow pace of

the talks.

At the same time, the administration pointedly refused to deny a report by syndicated columnist Rowland Evans and Robert Novak that President Reagan was considering cutting off military aid to Israel to force an Israeli pullback from Lebanon.

State Department spokesman John Hughes simply told reporters that there had been no change in the earlier administration position — as articulated by Secretary of State Shultz — that aid to Israel should not be used as a leverage in the negotiations. But both he and his White House counterpart repeatedly said they had "no comment" on the Evans and Novak report.

(Compiled from reports by David Landau and Wolf Blitzer.)

## Israeli soldiers wounded in Beirut rocket-grenade attack

Four Israeli soldiers were wounded in an ambush in Beirut on Sunday in an attack which has aroused questions here about the effectiveness of the multi-national peacekeeping force. The soldiers, who were on a patrol, came under fire from rocket-propelled grenades in an area close to the dividing line between Christian east Beirut, where the Israelis move freely, and the Moslem western sector of the city.

Israeli officials said that the assailants had crossed back over lines controlled by American troops

of the multi-national force. They added that when Israel had asked the Americans in the past why they had not prevented attacks, the reply had been that "we are a peace force."

If this was the role to be played by the multi-national force or UNIFIL, who could possibly give serious consideration to the stationing of these troops in south Lebanon, an official asked.

On Friday of last week a massive car bomb demolished a building reported to house PLO headquarters in the eastern Lebanese town of

Shoura on Friday afternoon.

According to Lebanese police, 37 bodies had already been recovered from the bombed building.

Lebanese state radio is quoted as saying that the demolished building was used by "non-Lebanese armed groups," with other reports from Lebanon describing it as the headquarters of the PLO.

Responsibility for the blast has been claimed by a shadowy anti-Palestinian, anti-Syrian group calling itself the "Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners."

## Israelis, Marines settle differences

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — A point of contention between American forces in Lebanon and the IDF was apparently settled at a meeting last week in Beirut between OC Northern Command Aluf Amir Drori, U.S. special envoy Morris Draper and the commander of the U.S. Marines in Beirut. Agreement was reached that the area east of the railway tracks in Beirut will continue to be controlled by the IDF. Until now, control over the area

was in dispute between IDF patrols and the midlines of the multinational force.

The two sides agreed to maintain continuous radio and telephone communications between the Israeli and U.S. units in the Beirut area.

The Americans said they will not patrol the districts within their area, including the refugee camps, as this is not part of their mandate.

Israel has charged that terrorists operating out of the American-held area have attacked IDF units. The State Department denied the

Israeli assertions.

Israel will continue to freely patrol the area up to the railway tracks, and the Americans will continue to occupy a post in Reihan next to the Faculty of Science building.

In Tel Aviv yesterday, Defence Minister Ariel Sharon told a visiting group of American Jewish pro-Israel lobbyists from Washington that "certain elements" had deliberately exaggerated the incidents between IDF soldiers and U.S. Marines.



## Why Israel demands posts in Lebanon

Israel's political and military leaders spoke out last week on the difficulties in the negotiations with Lebanon, insisting that three to five Israeli anti-terror control posts remain in Southern Lebanon regardless of whether accord is reached on the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

Speaking in separate forums, Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Rafael Eitan said that the early warning bases are essential and are a justified demand.

Briefing the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Begin said that while Israel had certain points of disagreement with the U.S. with regard to the negotiations, "our demands are justified and so it is a question of convincing the other partners."

Israel and Lebanon have reached a decision in principle on the termination of the state of war, he said, but the withdrawal issue is still being argued.

Lebanon is insisting that the negotiators first complete their talks about the withdrawal and continue only after that is settled, Begin said.

He said that Israel is insisting on early warning stations, because it believes that without this condition, it would be impossible to prevent terrorists infiltrating back into Southern Lebanon. The issue had been referred to one of the subcommittees, he said, since Israel did not reach agreement over it with U.S. envoy Philip Habib, either before or after his latest visit to Beirut.

Sharon, addressing participants in the 1983 Israel Bonds Prime Minister's and Canal Founders' Conference in Jerusalem, tried to defuse the reported confrontation with the U.S. over

Lebanon, saying that there is "none whatsoever. There is deep friendship between Israel and the greatest democracy upon earth — the U.S." He added that Israel has "a duty, not just a right" to tell the Americans "they are wrong" on matters of security and life and death.

Sharon went on to provide a detailed report on the government's demands for anti-terror control posts in southern Lebanon, about which he earlier briefed the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

He told the committee that the government attaches a higher priority to security arrangements in South Lebanon than it attaches to the evacuation of all foreign forces from Lebanon. Nevertheless, Israel still demands a total Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon and respects any form of Syrian military presence.

Syria, Sharon said, cannot possibly contend that the establishment of anti-terror control posts justifies its demand to keep Syrian troops in Lebanon, because there is a world of difference between the presence of 1,100 tanks and tens of thousands of soldiers, and a few hundred men, in control posts.

Apart from the issue of anti-terror control, the minister told the committee, Israel's differences with the U.S. include other security arrangements; the Israeli demand that the PLO withdraw before other foreign forces; the status of UNIFIL in the security zone; and the status of militia leader Major Sa'ad Haddad.

The Haddad forces, he continued, are "the only forces that can take over and act in this area in an efficient way. We'd like these forces to be integrated into the Lebanese Army, but to stay in the south and

be responsible for anti-terror activities in southern Lebanon until the Lebanese Army will be able to take over — and that may take years."

Immediately after the defence minister's speech, the Bonds conference hosted Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who inadvertently repeated many of Sharon's themes, using similar phrases. Shamir, speaking from a prepared address 15 minutes long, said that Israel is concerned about what will happen in Lebanon after Israel withdraws, especially with the danger of PLO return to the country. He also rejected the idea that UNIFIL and multinational force troops can defend Israel from terrorists.

Earlier in the week, Shamir repeated the government's rejection of the Reagan plan for a Middle East settlement. He was replying in the Knesset to a motion for the agenda by Geula Cohen (Tehiya) on "The Role of the U.S. in the Negotiations in Lebanon."

Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Eitan said at a government information Centre Symposium on the Middle East after the Lebanon war that "at this point Israel has no other solution than to maintain a presence in southern Lebanon for a period to be agreed upon by all sides. We need stations, or places — whatever they may be called — from which Israelis would be able to make sure that terrorists do not once more infiltrate within 45 kilometres of our borders, that they do not once more build up their presence there and start shooting."

(Compiled from reports by Asher Wallfisch, Sarah Hunic, Aryeh Rubinstein, Judy Siegel and Aaron Sittner.)



Prime Minister Menachem Begin addresses Israel Bonds delegates at the Jerusalem Hilton on Saturday night. Seen left is David Hermelin, dinner chairman. At right are Yehuda Halevy, new president of Israel Bonds, and Interior Minister Yosef Burg.

EDITORIAL COMMENT, SUNDAY, JANUARY 30, 1983

### Mr. Begin's voice

FOR SOME TIME now the Prime Minister's public statements and appearances have become a rare phenomenon. At a time when Israel is engaged in intensive and crucial political negotiations which will determine the final outcome of the war in Lebanon, while open confrontation between Jerusalem and Washington is looming, Mr. Begin's conspicuous silence ought to be of particular concern.

Moreover, with a consummate politician like Mr. Begin, who is known to thrive on public rhetoric and polemics, continued absence from the public stage of politics might be interpreted the wrong way.

It was therefore a welcome decision by Mr. Begin to address last night's closing meeting of the Israel Bonds Prime Minister's and Canal Founders Conference in Jerusalem. His urging patience regarding the current negotiations with Lebanon, which he said were not futile, and his public invitation to King Hussein to join the Camp David peace process were certainly timely.

But as there is no vacuum in politics and public life, Mr. Begin must also be seen to hold the reins of government, lest other dominant figures in his cabinet fill that vacuum, creating time and again *faits accomplis* which will be difficult, if not impossible, to change.

This applies, of course, particularly to Mr. Begin's impetuous Defence Minister Ariel Sharon who does not miss an opportunity to go public with the most surprising statements, replete with forays into the domains of both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister. Mr. Sharon's statement on Friday, in an interview with *Ma'ariv*, calling the Soviet Union to come and meet with Israel, because they have "something to say to each other, there is something to talk about," is the most recent case in point.

Despite the brevity of this statement, without any further reference or elaboration, and its being totally out of context with the rest of the interview, it immediately caused ripples in Washington. The American over-reaction to Mr. Sharon's utterances can only be explained by the fact that the Defence Minister has not missed an opportunity lately to charge Washington with outright sabotage of the negotiations with Lebanon. His attempt then to stretch out an inviting hand towards Moscow could thus be interpreted as a warning to Washington that Israel could do business directly with the Kremlin, particularly on the touchy question of Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon.

Coming from the man who has repeatedly claimed that Israel ought to be the bulwark of the U.S. against Soviet expansionist designs both in the Middle East and in Africa, this is certainly a new and quite inexplicable twist.

Mr. Sharon has of late usurped higher authority, particularly when it comes to attacking U.S. presidential envoy Philip Habib's personal role in the negotiations with Lebanon. Even the rare attempts by Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir to put a damper on Mr. Sharon's collision course rhetoric have no effect on the increasingly worsening relations between Washington and Jerusalem.

It is therefore high time that Jerusalem should again speak with one authoritative voice which will reflect the views of the Prime Minister.

## NEWS REPORT

### Bonds collect \$100m. for canal project

By CHARLES HOFFMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The \$100 million already brought in by Israel Bonds for the Mediterranean-Dead Sea project will be enough to finance the next three years of detailed planning and initial construction on the project, according to the director of the Mediterranean-Dead Sea Company, Uri Wurzbarger.

Close to 200 bonds leaders attending the Prime Minister's and Canal Founders Conference last week visited the site near Ein Bokek on the Dead Sea planned for the project's 800 megawatt hydroelectric power plant. In several months, a 1.4 kilometre tunnel will be drilled into the mountain at the site for a closer examination of the area that will house the underground power plant and water outlet.

At a ceremony at the site, a scroll signed by 61 "canal founders" was placed in a capsule and buried at the drilling site. A black granite stone was unveiled over the spot to mark the dedication of the "exploratory tunnel."

About 1,000 people have become "canal founders" by purchasing \$100,000 in bonds earmarked for the project making a total of \$100m.

Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i addressed the delegates later, stressing the associated energy and industrial projects to be made possible by the project which is a canal and tunnel system bringing water from the Mediterranean across the Negev to the Dead Sea.

Moda'i did not discuss the economic viability of the hydroelectric plant, which is the core of the \$1.4 billion enterprise.

The delegates later visited an experimental facility at the northern end of the Dead Sea that is testing the effects of mixing waters from the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea under a variety of conditions. Wurzbarger reviewed the progress of the project, and said that \$10m. had been spent on it since the company was set up some two years ago.

(See also page 20)

### Sharon call to Soviet irks U.S.

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's recent overture to the Soviet Union has tended to further strengthen the growing anti-Israel attitude among senior Reagan administration officials and their allies in Capitol Hill.

U.S. and Israeli officials here agreed that the prospects of the Soviet Union's accepting Sharon's proposal were exceedingly remote, given Moscow's clearly more important interest in maintaining close relations with such Arab rejectionist states as Syria and Iraq.

"I say to the Soviets, come, let's meet," Sharon declared in interviews in two afternoon newspapers on Friday. "Israel and the Soviet Union have something to say to each other. There is something to talk about."

Publicly, the White House and the State Department gave Sharon's statements a polite response.

Privately, however, U.S. officials ridiculed his comments. If the defence chief thought such remarks were going to frighten Washington into taking a more pro-Israel stance, one of them said, he was "dreaming."

### Ida Milgrom appeals to Andropov

By LIA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Ida Milgrom, mother of Prisoner of Zion Anatoly Shecharansky, has sent a telegram to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov asking for the right to visit her son.

He has been denied visitation and correspondence rights for the past year, and has been on a hunger strike since Yom Kippur eve. In a letter sent by Andropov last week to French Communist Party chairman Georges Marchais, Andropov claimed that Shecharansky had stopped his strike.

However, after talking to a Moscow health official responsible for health services in the prison, Ida Milgrom was given to understand

that her son is still not eating. In New York Shecharansky's wife, Avital, also appealed to Andropov to allow her to see her husband.

Meanwhile, leaders of the worldwide fight for Shecharansky's freedom say they will continue their efforts on his behalf despite the hint in Andropov's letter to Marchais that this might hurt Shecharansky's cause. Experts have described Andropov's letter as "a clever KGB-style trap" designed to score propaganda points in the West and to weaken interest in Shecharansky's situation.

Pro-Shecharansky demonstrators marched in front of the Finnish embassy in Tel Aviv, which handles Soviet interests in Israel.

### Curfew again imposed on tense Nablus market

A partial curfew was imposed on the old market, or *caasbah*, in Nablus for the second time last week after a demonstration and stone-throwing by local youths.

Nablus has been tense for almost two weeks after the arrest of nine members of the Al-Najah university student's council. They were originally detained after a pro-Fatah rally on the campus, and were later freed.



Yehuda Blum

### Envoy to Britain?

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir has decided to recommend to the cabinet that Professor Yehuda Blum, the ambassador to the UN, be appointed the new ambassador in London, according to persistent reports circulating in Jerusalem.

Shamir proposes to replace Blum, a Hebrew University law professor, with Meir Rosenne, at present the ambassador in Paris. Rosenne is a former legal adviser to the Foreign Ministry.

Blum was sent to New York originally as Prime Minister Menachem Begin's appointee because of his Herut sympathies. The London post has been vacant since last June's attempted assassination of Ambassador Shlomo Argov.

### Getting warmer

Temperatures rose at the weekend after days of cold and rain during which most of Israel was colder than many capitals in Europe.

Below are temperature figures:

	Saturday's Low-High	Sunday's Low-High
Jerusalem	1-9	10
Nahariya	3-15	15
Safed	0-7	8
Haifa Port	—	—
Tiberias	3-14	15
Nazareth	3-12	13
Eilat	3-18	20

### Maccabi down but not out yet

Maccabi Tel Aviv's drubbing last week at Yad Elyahu sports stadium by the Billy Milano team, and the concurrent inaugural defeat for European champions Ford Cantu in Moscow, have thrown the European basketball Cup race wide open.

Despite their single-point loss to CSKA, Cantu are still favourites to make a repeat final appearance in Grenoble on March 24. Their most likely opponents now look to be fellow north Italians, who were in impressive form in their controlled

eight-point triumph over the Israeli side.

Maccabi who have, of course, along with the Russians, played one extra game, go into the second round of the double round-robin final pool with their prospects dimmed by the powerful Milan squad. A string of 42 victories in a row at Yad Elyahu is no mean record but it has always been on the cards this season that Maccabi would come a cropper sooner or later.

Maccabi plays last-place Cibona this week.

### League leaders take beating

TEL AVIV. — Jack Mansell's Maccabi Haifa finally came into their own on Saturday, thrashing leaders Maccabi Netanya by 3-0, before an exhilarated 10,000 crowd at the Kiryat Eliezer stadium to record the highlight of the National League football programme.

The other unexpected results involved the Jerusalem teams. Betar lost 1-0 at home to Hapoel Beersheba and so plummeted to the bottom of the standings, while their Hapoel rivals notched a 1-0 away win, and gained three points, at Lod. Maccabi Tel Aviv's 1-0 home win over Jaffa keeps them in second place, 12 points behind Netanya.

Earlier in the week disgruntled Haifa supporters had petitioned for the ousting of the club's English coach, Jack Mansell, and of chairman, Zvi Weizner, because of the team's indifferent showing this season.

The Haifa players, however, provided the most effective answer to these fans, producing their best of the season to rout normally rampant Netanya.

Standings, After 17 Games:				
	W	D	L	Pts
1. Netanya	12	3	2	37 20 39
2. Macc. Tel Aviv	8	9	2	24 7 27
3. Shimon	6	8	3	19 11 26
4. Macc. P.T.	7	5	5	19 19 26
5. Hapoel Tel Aviv	6	6	5	14 13 24
6. Be'er Yehuda	5	9	3	11 10 24
7. Beersheba	5	8	4	15 14 23
8. Lod	4	8	5	21 18 20
9. Macc. Haifa	4	8	5	16 18 20
10. Yaffa	4	8	5	15 19 20
11. Yehud	4	8	5	10 16 20
12. Jaffa	3	9	5	12 14 18
13. Ramat Gan	2	11	4	8 11 17
14. Kiryat Sava	3	7	7	20 24 16
15. Hapoel Pitha	4	3	10	17 32 15
16. Betar Jaffa	2	8	7	19 24 14

### Shipping personality Elie Allalouf, 82

TEL AVIV. — Elie Allalouf, a prominent figure in the shipping business, died on January 26 of a heart attack in Tel Aviv's Ichilov Hospital. He was 82.

He was buried in Kiryat Shaul cemetery.

Allalouf was born in Salonica, Greece in 1900 and worked in the shipping business in Greece from 1921 to 1934.

In 1924 he introduced air communication in Greece and is con-

sidered one of the pioneers of air transport.

He came to Eretz Yisrael in 1934 and established the steamship agency Allalouf and Co., of which he was director and co-proprietor until his death.

He was instrumental in helping the Jews of Salonika come to the country during the pre-state "illegal-immigration" period.

He is survived by his wife, two daughters and a son.

### Eitan summoned to testify

By DAVID RICHARDSON  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Rafael Eitan has been summoned to appear next week before the Central Command Military Court in Jaffa to explain orders he issued last April on how to quell disturbances in the West Bank.

Eitan was summoned on the insistence of one of the defence lawyers in the trial of an IDF major, Rav-Seren David Mofaz, and six soldiers who are accused of assaulting and brutally mistreating Arabs in the Hebron area last spring.

Military sources said this is the first time that a chief of staff has been called as a witness in a trial of this nature, where he is to be questioned about policies and guidelines he issued. Eitan is due to appear on or before February 7, when the defence is to present its

summons.

The star witness of last week's proceedings in the dilapidated old building which serves the court in the old part of Jaffa was OC Central Command Aluf Ori Orr. The burly general appeared at his own initiative with the declared intention of trying to contradict the impression made in the court and in the media two weeks ago, following the publication of two of Eitan's written orders on how to handle trouble in the administered areas.

In these documents, Eitan called for "punishment by expulsion," issued orders that the parents of teenage demonstrators were to be punished and that suspected demonstrators or provocateurs were to be harassed by repeated arrest. Eitan specifically used the military slang term *tharar* (harassment or bullying), which is acknowledged to be illegal when applied to new army recruits or to



Eitan

detainees in the territories.

The defence has argued that there was a general policy of toughness against the civilian Arab population in the West Bank at the time, and that this originated with the chief of staff and possibly with Defence Minister Ariel Sharon.

Prosecutor Rav-Seren Yehuda Rosen has maintained that Eitan's orders were couched in rough language but were understood correctly and legally by Orr, who conveyed them to his officers in the field.

Orr, who tried constantly to defend the reputation of his subordinates and of the Judea and Samaria Military Command as well as attempting to play down the effect of Eitan's instructions, was constantly interrupted by advocate Yehuda Ressler, who is appearing for Mofaz.

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deeply mourns the passing of

**Prof. SOL SPIEGELMAN**

distinguished biologist.

Doctor Philosophiae Honoris Causa of the University.

and extends sincere condolences to the bereaved family

## Poverty is how you measure it

IN THE KNESSET  
Aryeh Rubinstein

Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Benzion Rubin promised last week that the government's Large Families Bill would be submitted to the Knesset no later than the first week in March, with the object of having it become law and taking effect by April 1.

Replying to two no-confidence motions, based on "the condition of children of poor families and the extent of poverty," Rubin said that the benefits provided by the bill would greatly improve the situation of large families.

The motions were presented by Rafael Edri (Alignment) and Charlie Biton (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality). They were defeated 60-51.

Edri cited the recently published survey by the National Insurance Institute which shows that over 300,000 persons in Israel — including 70,000 children and 155,000 elderly — live below the poverty line. This, he said, was proof enough of the government's failure to cope with poverty.

The poverty line is a monthly income of \$16,000 for a family of four.

Anyone who supported the government thereby acquiesced in the steady rise of poverty and was indifferent to the fate of the poor, Edri said.

Biton said that the NII survey paints so bleak a picture it could have been the work of the opposition.

Rubin maintained that the concept "below the poverty line" is misleading, since it only took wages into account, but omitted indirect income such as subsidized commodities, housing and education, rehabilitation of depressed neighbourhoods and a variety of social services.

In any case, he said, a person whose income is below the poverty



Deputy Minister Rubin

line is not hungry, homeless and jobless. The line expresses a level of income in relation to the average wage in the economy.

While the standard of living of the poor had risen in the last few years, that of the middle class had risen even more, so that the gap has widened, Rubin said.

Nevertheless, he said, the situation of low-income families as a whole had improved in the last five years in the areas of housing, education, income, and ownership of durable goods.

For example, he said, in 1981 only 1.4 per cent of households lived three or more persons to a room, compared to about 3 per cent in 1977.

Real wages rose by about 38 per cent in the period 1976-81, Rubin said. This had led to "an absolute improvement" in the standard of

### Speeding was main cause of accidents

Despite the increase in the number of vehicles on the roads during 1982, the number of traffic accidents and the number of fatalities decreased significantly compared with 1981, according to figures released by police last week.

But despite the decrease in the number of accidents, 12,736 in 1982 compared with 13,193 in 1981 a

living, including that of the lowest deciles.

Herut MK Michael Kleiner, 35, drew sarcastic comments from the Alignment benches last week when he urged the introduction of morning prayer in the state general (not religious) schools.

He was speaking on a motion for the agenda entitled: "Strengthening Jewish identity in parts of the Israeli public."

The motion was defeated 31-30, after the coalition whips failed to round up enough MKs.

Kleiner attacked the apathy with which the public and the press had received the "frightening" finding that one quarter of secular youth in Israel said they are prepared to marry a non-Jew. And he blamed the state general schools for producing that state of mind.

Kleiner said he is glad there is a religious education minister (Zevulun Hammer), but he would like the minister to inject some religious Judaism into the state schools.

Shlomo Hillel and Shevah Weiss (both Alignment) heckled Kleiner, charging that his proposal amounts to a call for turning all schools into state religious institutions.

Weiss accused Kleiner of "hypocrisy" — employed for the purposes of "party bargaining."

Rubbi Menahem Hacohen (Alignment) voted with the coalition for a debate on Kleiner's motion.

## Falashas better off but still suffer bias

By LOUIS RAPOPORT  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Knesset Member Dror Zeigerman (Likud-Liberals) and a group of American and Canadian student leaders have just returned from a 10-day visit to Falasha villages in Ethiopia. The student leaders told *The Jerusalem Post* that the statements made recently by a group of four Israelis who visited the same area "papered over" the situation among Ethiopian Jews, but that things are better for the Falashas than they were a few years ago.

Zeigerman went to Ethiopia in his capacity as head of the Jewish Agency's student division. Other members of the group included David Jordan of the Jewish Federation Council of Los Angeles; David Makovsky, president of the North American Jewish Student Network; Steven Bauman of the Canadian Association for Ethiopian Jews; and Zeigerman's aide, Baruch Shalev.

They travelled to the Gondar area north of Lake Tana, where most of the Falashas are concentrated. Unlike the other group, which was sponsored by the World Jewish Congress, the Zeigerman group was not accompanied by Ethiopian security guards and had a Falasha escort.

The villages had been closed to visitors for over a year until a Reuters correspondent was allowed

in recently. "Everything is open now — we were allowed to ask anything," David Jordan said. Jordan had been to Ethiopia on four occasions and was thoroughly familiar with the Falashas' situation. In contrast, none of the WJC group had ever been to Ethiopia.

The WJC group told the press two weeks ago that they found no signs of poverty, repression or manifestations of anti-Semitism. But the Zeigerman group learned that Falasha Hebrew teachers are still barred from teaching the language. No religious education is permitted, and the Falashas are definitely discriminated against.

"In Gondar, the pressure is on the Jews to assimilate. They're afraid to use their synagogues," Jordan said.

But at the same time, he noted that the security situation has improved greatly. He dismissed recent reports by a Canadian film team led by Simcha Jacobovitch that Falashas were being rounded up in camps and guarded by L.I. byms — a report that was later relayed by MK Moshe Shuhai.

"The last Falasha murdered under order by the government was Tekele Ashanafa, ORT administrator in Gondar, who was killed in December, 1978," Jordan said.

Falasha religious teachers who were imprisoned and tortured have all been released.

Zeigerman called on the Israeli government to launch a public campaign to influence the Ethiopian regime to permit the Falashas to resume studying Hebrew. Ethiopia severed diplomatic ties with Israel after the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

Zeigerman appealed to the Ethiopians to permit Jewish organizations like ORT and the Joint Distribution Committee to work in the Falasha areas. ORT was expelled from Ethiopia in 1981.

An estimated 3,000 Ethiopian Jews live in Israel. The Falashas are recognized by Israel as Jews entitled to come here under the Law of Return.

Zeigerman and the student leaders have asked U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy to help in the movement to reunify Falasha families and to persuade the Ethiopians to let Falashas emigrate.

Ethiopia has opened its gates to tourists and is being cooperative concerning requests to visit the Falashas. Addis Ababa is in dire need of foreign exchange, and wants to encourage tourism.

A Public Council for Ethiopian Jewry is in the process of formation in Israel, with the support of Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat.

## Navon decries 'Diaspora ignorance'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — A large portion of Jewish children in the U.S. do not get a Jewish education, and many of them do not know about the Patriarch Abraham, President Yitzhak Navon told pupils at the Beit Biram Reali school here last week. He spoke and answered questions for more than two hours.

The president, referring to his recent visit to the U.S., said that out of 750,000 American Jewish children there, between seven and 15 years of age, 400,000 did not read the Tora (Pentateuch) or learn about Judaism.

He said that these problems, together with intermarriages, and the ban on Jewish education in Communist countries, particularly Russia, will lead to a big drop in the numbers of Diaspora Jews. If present trends continue, there will be

eight million Jews in the Diaspora by the year 2000, compared to the present figure of 10.5 million. By the year 2025, the number could be as low as five million.

Navon said that during his American visit, Jewish leaders there expressed their concern at the quarrels between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities in Israel and the polarization of religious and secular Jews here.

He said that most Israeli officials who visit the U.S. speak about money and fund-raising; he spoke about aliyah.

He said there is too much emphasis on material wealth and not enough on idealism.

People who wish to make aliyah have to be motivated by more than a desire to have a comfortable life style, and they have to believe in Israel and their right to live here, Navon said.

## Crime rate dropped 10% last year

By ISRAEL AMRANI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Despite grim predictions for an increase in crime, police succeeded in the past year in reducing the crime rate by nearly ten per cent from 1981, police Inspector-General Riv-Nitzav Arye Ivztan said last week.

Ivztan and investigations chief Nitzav Yehzekiel Carthy spoke at a press conference at Beit Agnon in Jerusalem on the occasion of the publication of the police annual report on crime.

Earlier, Interior Minister Yosef Burg told the police high command that one-third of all vehicles serving the force will be replaced during 1983, and that the ministry will hire contractors to do some work for the police, thus freeing 375 policemen to perform field duty.

Ivztan said that overall crime was reduced by 9.2 per cent in 1982 compared with 1981. Crime against property, which makes up about 80 per cent of the total, was reduced by 8.5 per cent, with home burglaries down 18 per cent, he said.

Ivztan attributed the decrease to police re-deployment, with policemen formerly doing office work now doing field duty. Other equally important factors were further development of police intelligence, the "targeting" of known criminals and a new policy of inducing suspects early to keep them behind bars until their trial.

Ivztan emphasized that fighting crime this year was especially difficult, and demanded special efforts because of the war in Lebanon, the evacuation of Yamit, the El Al crisis and numerous political demonstrations.

## POSTSCRIPTS

**PS.** "SOME MONTHS ago," writes a Jerusalem rabbi, "I was approached to officiate at the wedding of a young couple who were quite unknown to me. As is my custom on such an occasion, I made my acceptance conditional on them coming to see me beforehand. They did, and after our chat I agreed to the request, and proceeded to note down the details in order to write the Ketuba.

"What is your first name?" I asked, and he replied 'Christian.' Considerably taken aback, I continued politely 'And your Hebrew name?' 'Also Christian,' he replied. 'Don't be funny,' I said to him testily. 'I take it you had a Brit Mila, on which occasion you were given your Hebrew name. You are not going to tell me that you were given the name Christian?' 'But I was, sir,' he replied. 'I was born in Denmark. King Christian X of Denmark was the sole ruler in the whole of Europe who helped save Jews during the Holocaust. As a result, many Jewish parents — mine included — decided to name their children after him in appreciation, and commemoration of this noble attitude.'

"Young man," I said to him, 'It will be an honour to me to enter the name Christian as your name in the Ketuba,' and I duly did so.

"Strange?" But there are few things for which one cannot find a precedent in the vast Jewish religious literature. For example, it is widely accepted that Jews gave the name Alexander to their children in gratitude to Alexander the Great's refraining from taking action when the High Priest was obliged to refuse his request that his statue be erected in the Second Temple. The High Priest Jaddua consoled him by offering an alternative, and said to him, 'I will make thee a greater memorial. All the (male) children born to the priests during the current year throughout Judea and Jerusalem shall be given the name Alexander, and this will be thy memorial when they come to perform the service of God in this place' (Yosippon chapter 5.).

"Whatever historical truth there may be in this, we have the authenticated incident of a truly Christian 'Christian' and an equally truly Jewish 'Christian'."

L.I.R.

**PS.** "YOUR TINY hand was frozen" all right, at Haifa's Beitenu hall here the other night. But it wasn't the air, it was the air.

The unheated hall in the building which belongs to the Labour Council was the venue of an operatic evening, "You Still Remember Me," arranged by the Hungarian Immigrants' Association. About 60 people turned up, most of them elderly ex-Hungarians, and not enough to warm the 400-seat hall with their body heat.

As a result the audience sat huddled in their Hungarian winter coats, which they had remembered to bring, somewhat spoiling the effect of the elegant evening dresses the ladies had put on for the occasion.

The pervading frost enveloped the artists too. They apologized that they would sing through their numbers as fast as possible and without intermissions to be able to flee to warmer surroundings. They got through in just over an hour.

"The singing was wonderful. But the finale when we could all run home to warm ourselves was even better," one elderly lady in the audience said later.

Y.P.

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## MKs attack Sheli-Arafat meeting

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN  
Post Knesset Reporter

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir says there is "no escaping" the passing of a law that will prohibit Israelis from contacting groups or individuals connected with the PLO. He was replying to two motions for the agenda on the recent meeting in Tunis between Yasser Arafat and three leaders of the leftist Sheli party, Uri Avnery, Mityahu Peled and Ya'acov Arnon.

Last week, the cabinet asked the justice minister and the attorney-general to submit an opinion about amending the law dealing with contact with foreign agents.

The ensuing Knesset discussion split the Alignment. The Mapam members felt that Michael Bar-Zohar, who presented the first motion, had deviated from the moderate tone the faction had decided he would take. In retaliation, they walked out of the chamber before the vote.

As a result, Bar-Zohar's motion was referred to the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee by the voters of Labour and — after a moment's hesitation — by the coalition. The second motion, presented

by Pinhas Goldstein (Likud-Liberals), was also referred to the committee, by the votes of the coalition alone.

Bar-Zohar said that for the past eight years a group of Israelis have been wandering around the world seeking PLO leaders who would talk to them. They had striven unsuccessfully to get the PLO to change the paragraphs in the Palestinian Covenant that call for Israel's destruction.

He said that Avnery, Peled, and Arnon, by meeting with Arafat, had weakened the prospects of Israel's conducting peace negotiations with Jordan and had revived the dangerous PLO option.

But Bar-Zohar opposed taking legal action against the three, as well as new laws on the subject. If they had really harmed state security, the present law is adequate, he said.

Goldstein said that the three had handed PLO propaganda a windfall: If Israelis assumed the right to meet with PLO leaders, why should not President Reagan or Prime Minister Thatcher follow suit?

Shamir said that the PLO remains

a murder organization. The two men who threw grenades at the bus in Tel Aviv on January 8 confessed that they belong to Fatah, the central and so-called moderate stream in the PLO.

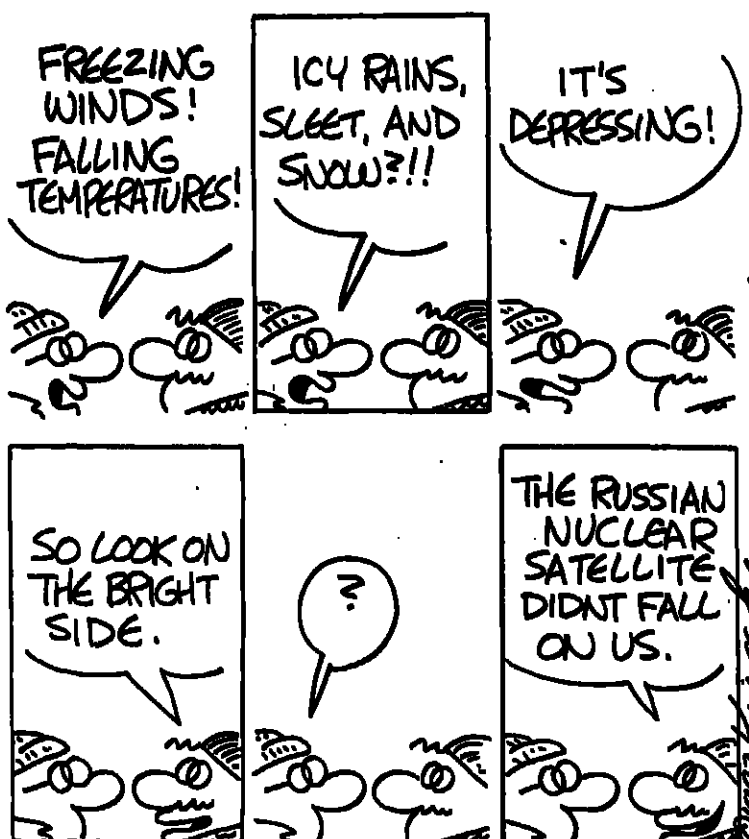
"We will have no truck with the PLO's terror bands," Shamir said. "That should be clear to both our friends and our enemies. Those who aid the PLO with money, arms, or military training should know they are abetting an attempt to destroy a people and a state."

For a Jew to have contact with the PLO is a crime, Shamir said, because such contact helps to extend the organization's life and to strengthen the illusion it is trying to plant in the world that the PLO is gaining currency even among the Jews.

At a press conference last week, the three men who met with Arafat said their meeting was a breakthrough because it formalized contacts between the PLO and Israelis.

Avnery also disclosed that the three had met with Morocco's King Hassan in October last year and in December 1980.

## Dry Bones



## NRP hawks to form party

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A new religious party, headed by Rabbi Haim Druckman, National Religious Party Knesset member, will be formally set up in February and the prospect is already arousing anxiety in the NRP.

The activists in the Druckman camp decided late last week to part with the NRP. Their decision will be brought as a recommendation before the group's council meeting. The new party will be called Matzad, the acronym of the Hebrew name *Mitzvat Tzionut Datit* — Rally of Religious Zionism. The word Matzad means fortress.

The party will include, apart from Druckman, many of the "Whole Land of Israel" figures in the NRP. Chief among them are the doyen of the Bnei Akiva yeshiva-high-school network, Rabbi Moshe Zvi Neriyah; Avraham Duvedvani, the international head of the NRP's youth movement, Bnei Akiva; Yosef Shapira, who was recently ousted by the NRP from his post of head of the Jewish Agency's youth aliyah department; and Aharon Cohen,



Rabbi Druckman

member of the NRP executive, Tehiya MK Geula Cohen's younger brother.

Druckman will probably formally leave the NRP Knesset faction in February when Matzad is to be formally founded. He has already announced that he will remain in the Likud-led coalition.

The as-yet-unborn party boasts that it already has more than 20,000 members, all of whom signed on by mailing in questionnaires that appeared in newspaper ads.

About half of Matzad's executive members and of its slate of Knesset candidates will be Jews of Oriental origin, it was announced.

## From the Hebrew press

Ma'ariv (Independent) analyses worsening Israel-U.S. relations: "Over the course of the last week it was possible to distinguish the dimensions of the crisis which beclouds relations between Israel and the U.S. Philip Habib's mission was chiefly meant to push Israel into a rapid agreement with Lebanon on the withdrawal of IDF forces, with or without diplomatic and security achievements."

"It was possible to discern the impatience of the special American envoy as a reflection of President Reagan's impatience. It was possible to confirm the fact that in the difficult negotiations on political and defence arrangements with Lebanon, Israel would not be able to depend on any American support. At the end of last week, it was clear that matters were moving rapidly towards confrontation."

The paper points out that on every issue of interest to Israel — such as the manning by the IDF of warning stations in Lebanon, the establishment of good relations with Lebanon, and the status of Major Haddad's militia — the U.S. has sided with Moslem Lebanese elements, and has "ruled that Israel must... agree to withdraw practically unconditionally."

"The Israeli government was inclined to reject this American demand, and from its position it follows that our relations with the U.S. have reached the stage of sharp confrontation, in which difficult claims and complaints from both sides will not be lacking."

The newspaper predicts that Habib will blame Israel for the delays in the negotiations, and that Israel will counter by blaming the U.S. — citing American support for those Lebanese elements opposed to any sort of political or defence agreement with Israel.

In conclusion, the newspaper urged Israeli compromise, closer coordination of policy with the U.S., and a sharpened sense of reality.

## Tempers flare in Knesset

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Post Knesset Correspondent

Coalition executive members lost their cool last week in the course of a row between the NRP's Yehuda Ben-Meir and Herut wing chairman Ronnie Milo.

The row began when Micha Reiser (Likud-Herut) asked permission to submit a private member's bill specifying which categories of civil servants would be obliged to resign statutorily after a change of government.

Reiser commented at one point in his explanation that "the Foreign Ministry has many ambassadors and consuls abroad, dating back to the Labour regime, who are constitutionally and ideologically incapable of defending this government's policies."

(After his visit to Brazil, Reiser was one of the most ardent critics of ambassador to Brasilia Shaul Ramati, a former associate of the late Moshe Dayan.)

Reiser's jab stung Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir, a member of the coalition executive. He dismissed Reiser's allegations as "totally unfounded."

He stressed that all Israel envoys did "excellent work in conditions of hardship and personal risk."

Warming up, Ben-Meir said: "My party objects to proposals like

Reiser's, because they spell politicization of the civil service.

Here Milo roared out: "Who is the NRP, to talk about politicization in the civil service? Would you like me to count the skulls in the Interior and Education Ministries?"

Ben-Meir: "What's that about the Education Ministry? Who got the Likud into power if not Ze'evulun Hammer?"

Yigal Cohen (Likud-Herut): "You should rather say that Hammer has the Likud to thank, for granting him the education portfolio which the NRP did not have before."

Ben-Meir: "If the NRP got the portfolio it has it's because it educated a second generation of young leaders with more merit than other parties."

At this point the shouting grew so intense that several conflicting versions exist over what was said.

Ben-Meir seized the opportunity to reflect on the row which had developed and when things quieted down again he explained that he only meant that Herut's grounds for complaining about the Labour Party in the 1950s no longer obtained and so the situation with regard to civil servants' resignations after an election should not be altered by law.

## Argov murder attempt trial begins

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — The trial of three Arabs accused in the attempted murder of Israeli Ambassador Shlomo Argov outside the Dorchester Hotel last June 3 opened at the central criminal court, Old Bailey, last week. All three, two Jordanians and an Iraqi, pleaded not guilty.

Hussein Ahmad Ghassan Sa'id, 23, a Jordanian, is alleged to have fired the bullet that went through Argov's head. He is also accused of shooting the ambassador's police

escort, Colin Simpson, who gave chase.

The other two accused are Marwan al-Banna, 21, also a Jordanian, and Nauoff Nagib Rosan, 36, an Iraqi. All three are charged with Argov's attempted murder and also on a number of charges relating to the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

For the crown, Roy Amlot said that all three worked together to plot Argov's murder. He said they were members of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, a splinter group of the PLO.

## 'PLO harming camp fellow-prisoners'

By HIRSH GOODMAN  
Post Defence Correspondent

Lebanese citizens detained by Israel at the Ansar prison camp in southern Lebanon are reportedly being victimized and persecuted by Palestinian detainees.

According to Ibrahim Ghaddar, an influential member of the Lebanese Shia community, the situation has become grave. He is in Israel for a few days to plead the case of about 1,000 Lebanese civilians being held at Ansar.

Armed with testimony from Lebanese who have been released from the camp, he said there have been cases of homosexual rape, beatings and psychological torture directed against non-Palestinians by Israeli-appointed PLO mukhtars (headmen) who are responsible for discipline in the camp's 20 compounds.

Ghaddar is here to try to secure a separate compound for Lebanese civilians — "not their release," he stresses. He is also attempting to put together a list of Lebanese citizens being held by Israel, claiming that there are many families in southern Lebanon who still do not know the fate of their missing relatives.

He says that those being released have few complaints about conditions in the camp and other matters controlled by the Israeli authorities — such as blankets, food, games and medical treatment. He claimed, however, that these items often do not reach the non-Palestinians, who regardless of their previous political leanings have been turned by the

Palestinians into scapegoats for the PLO's defeat in Lebanon.

Each of the 20 compounds is headed by a mukhtar who represents the detainees. It is only through the headman that one can contact the authorities, and it is the headman who decides whom the Red Cross will see. The compound chiefs control the distribution of food and amenities, and it is apparently understood that they have the power to control "trouble-makers."

Their job is to ensure discipline, and in this they enjoy wide leeway. The result of this system, Ghaddar says, is that not only do the Lebanese citizens have no channel to the Israeli authorities, but "the headmen and their associates have the power to make the lives of individuals intolerable, and that is exactly what they have been doing."

All the headmen are Palestinian, mostly officers in the PLO. An executive committee composed of Salah Tamar, Abdul Aziz, Abu Leila and a Dr. Nabil — all senior PLO officers — has been formed to deal directly with the Israeli authorities. A fifth member of the committee, Na'an Jabbar from Tyre, is a well-known member of the Lebanese radical Left.

Dispersed among the PLO-dominated compounds, Lebanese civilians have been subjected, among other things, to homosexual rape. Ghaddar says that he has tangible evidence that 15- and 16-year-old detainees have been raped repeatedly and often forced to do

degrading acts.

So far, said Ghaddar, meetings with Israelis on the subject have not helped, and he "cannot understand" why the Lebanese civilians are not moved into a homogeneous compound.

A senior Israeli official at the Prime Minister's Office indicated last week that the situation would be rectified "immediately." A military official also questioned said that the situation was "illogical," and would be dealt with immediately, but added that before he could commit himself to a clear answer, the relevant authorities would have to be asked for their reasons for the situation — "which may make a lot of sense when we hear them."

In addition to presenting the general problem of Lebanese citizens at Ansar, Ghaddar is here to act on behalf of certain individuals known to be in the camp. One youngster, Ziyad Hussein Asai, 16, from Sidon, is reported to be in a permanently catatonic state, refusing all contact with those around him. The youth was transferred to Ansar from an Israeli hospital after being wounded in crossfire during the war, according to Ghaddar, who says that he can personally vouch for the fact that the boy never had a gun or was involved politically.

"We have seen the entire PLO command structure from our town of Ghaziya, just south of Sidon, released, while dozens and dozens of Shias and other Lebanese citizens we know who had no contact with the PLO are still being detained."

## Kollek predicts Navon wouldn't beat Begin

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek does not believe that President Yitzhak Navon could lead the opposition to victory in the next election as head of the Labour Party.

In an interview published last week in the weekly *Koteret Rashit*, Kolek said: "If Yitzhak Navon were to ask me, I would tell him he should enter the party in order to rebuild it, not to win an election."

"I don't believe that someone in the party can beat Begin — not Peres, not Rabin and not Navon."

The mayor attacked Peres' rival Yitzhak Rabin saying that he had weakened the Labour Party.

Another of the Labour Party's

would-be candidates for prime minister, MK Mordechai Gur, warned Navon against "assuming that he would receive the Labour Party leadership on a silver platter."

Gur said in a radio interview that "while Navon is an asset to Labour, he should be fully aware of the fact that re-entering political life means coming back into the political fray, with all the struggles and difficulties that implies."

There is increasing speculation about who may succeed Navon as president.

One name mentioned is National Religious Party Interior Minister Yosef Burg.

## Bonn wants 'Butcher of Lyons'

The German Federal Republic said that it was still waiting to see if convicted Nazi war criminal Klaus Altmann, arrested in Bolivia on financial charges last week, would be extradited.

A German Foreign Ministry spokesman said Bonn stood by its eight-month-old extradition request for the former Gestapo chief.

Altmann, alias Klaus Barbie and dubbed "The Butcher of Lyons" while he was Hitler's Gestapo commander in the occupied French city during World War II, is wanted by France and the German Federal Republic.

In Paris Simone Veil, former presi-

dent of the European Parliament and an Auschwitz survivor, has come out against new trials of former Nazis.

In an interview with *Le Monde* she said: "My views on this subject might shock some and might be misunderstood by others, but 40 years after the war I have had enough of these trials."

Veil, a former magistrate, was questioned about the "Papon Affair," the case of former budget minister Maurice Papon who two weeks ago was charged with "crimes against humanity" for his alleged role in the deportation of 1,600 Jews from Bordeaux.

## More are unhappy with the government

By MARK SEGAL, Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — There has been a marked decline in public esteem for the government's general performance over the past six months. The sense of general disquiet could be linked to a fall in evaluation of living standards.

This emerged from the latest *Jerusalem Post* public opinion poll conducted by the Modi'in Ezerachi research institute at the end of December and in the first week of January. The poll was carried out among a representative sample of 1,929 adults. Institute director Sara Shemer, in comparing the feelings elicited with the more moderate decline in voting support for the Likud and its allies over the same period, emphasized the time-lag between the two trends.

Q. What is your opinion of the way the government is handling the country's problems?

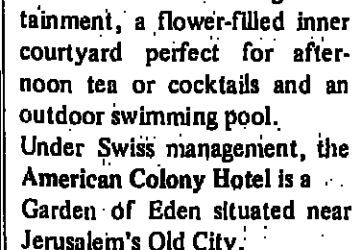
	Jan. '83	Oct. '82	Sept. '82	Aug. '82
Very good	10.6	9.9	18.2	21.4
Good	33.8	35.8	38.4	44.6
[Total good]	44.4	45.7	56.6	66.0
Bad	31.3	32.2	28.7	21.6
Very bad	20.7	17.0	11.5	9.6
[Total bad]	52.0	49.2	40.2	31.2
Undecided	3.6	5.1	3.2	2.8

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## COMMENTARY

HAS THE PROCESS of Israeli settlement in the occupied territories, and primarily in Judea and Samaria, gone beyond the point of no return? Has it become well nigh irreversible, as some local and foreign observers would claim?

To attempt an answer, one must tackle the question in the two contexts it is being asked, leaving aside the ideological desirability or undesirability of large-scale Israeli settlement of all of the territories, or selected parts of them. These two contexts are the feasibility of attaining the goals set by those currently in charge of the settlement drive — 100,000 settlers within three to four years and over a million by the end of the century; and what effect attaining these goals will have on the political purposes behind the government's settlement plans.

In the beginning of this series, I wrote that the ultra-nationalist Gush Emunim-type settler and settlements have run their course. Of the 20,000 to 25,000 settlers in Judea and Samaria today — about two-thirds of them children — Gush Emunim accounts for substantially less than half.

One may choose to view Gush Emunim and its accomplishments as either analogous to the First Aliya, the first wave of Zionist settlers who came to Turkish Palestine starting in the 1880s, set up a string of colonies and burnt themselves out within 20 years; or to the Second Aliya, which went on to leave a much deeper imprint on the future growth of the state. What is clear in either case is that the Gush Emunim phenomenon has hit the bottom of the barrel from which its human resources are drawn.

THE GOVERNMENT'S present settlement drive and its goal of 100,000 settlers in the next few years are based on a different human reservoir, the combination of need, greed and the striving of many young Israelis for their dream house away from the claustrophobic pressures of living in the Greater Tel Aviv area.

Can the goal of 100,000 settlers be reached? There is every indication that it can, but not in the three years or so posited by the government planners. Rather, this seems to be a reasonable goal for the end of this decade. The reason for the time lag lies mainly in the fields of money and of bureaucratic friction.

The competing government leaders in charge of various aspects of the settlement drive, in their recent testimony before Knesset committees, seem to agree on one thing: that the basic investment needed to settle one family in Judea and Samaria comes to around \$4m. to \$5m. at current prices. A major critic of the government's settlement policy, Prof. Ra'anan Weitz, who heads the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department together with Herut's Mattityahu Drobiaz, estimates the cost at about \$100,000 per family. These two estimates are fairly close to one another.

To bring the Jewish population up from the present 20,000-25,000 to 100,000 means financing the settlement of an additional 20,000 families, an expenditure of \$2 billion. It is very unlikely that the government and the World Zionist Organization will be able to allocate such a sum during the next two to three years. It is much more feasible to spread the outlay over a longer period of seven to eight years.

The bureaucratic infighting, which is a typical of government programmes that span departmental boundaries — and which was responsible, for example, for the ex-

What are the implications of the government's settlement policy and the prospects of reaching the goal of 100,000 Jews on the West Bank in the next few years? YOSEF GOELL considers these questions and points to the conflicting predictions on the issue to be found across the political spectrum.

## Settlement gamble



Ma'aleh Ephraim

cruciatingly slow progress in the settlement of the Golan and the Jordan Rift Valley under the Labour governments — seems to be as bad as ever, and possibly even worse, in the Likud government.

Despite Prime Minister Begin's pro forma intervention, there is little hope that this infighting will cease in the future. Its continuation will undoubtedly be responsible for delays of months and even years in the realization of the 100,000 goal.

Of perhaps even greater importance will be the initial difficulties in providing the infrastructure that the "quality of life" oriented settlers expect to find in their new settings. Even in the best of cases in central areas of Israel, there is always a lag of many months to several years between the completion of new housing estates and the provision of schools, kindergartens, post offices, telephones and the like. There is every reason to believe that the performance in this regard in the territories will not be better than the norm in Israel itself, and may well be worse. Settlers and home buyers who are disappointed in not finding an instant higher quality of life in the new settlements may well infect other prospective settlers with that sense of disappointment, and dissuade them from making the move.

ALL OF THESE are factors that will most likely lead to a delay of several years in attaining the goal of 100,000 settlers. This number, however, can definitely be reached by the end of the decade. When it comes to the more utopian goals of a million or more Jewish settlers in Judea and Samaria by the end of the century, we have definitely entered pie-in-the-sky land.

The first problem in regard to the higher target is that the \$2 billion assessment for 100,000 settlers turns out to a minimum of \$20 billion. Perhaps it is not totally impossible to divert such an astronomical sum from other purposes over a period of 17 years, but it would require a veritable social, economic and political revolution in Israel to do it. It is enough to point out that the Likud government is not the sort

that has been keen on any revolutions at all.

But an even more serious stumbling block is the problem of Jews, or rather the lack of them. One hundred thousand can reasonably be expected to move from their present locations within Israel — although even this number raises problems such as the populating of Ma'aleh Adumim and Kiryat Arba with Jews from Jerusalem, thus lowering the proportion of Jews to Arabs in the disputed capital.

Getting even a few hundred thousand Jewish settlers into Judea and Samaria is simply not on the cards unless net aliyah during the same period is substantially larger than that figure. To our regret, given the realities of the last decade, there would seem to be absolutely no basis for such a prognosis.

CAN THE presence of 100,000 Jewish settlers in Judea and Samaria over the next seven to eight years prevent the recurrence of another surrender of territory? Conversations with government politicians and with settlers in the territories, convey the distinct impression that the sense of urgency attached to the present settlement drive derives mainly from the trauma of Camp David and Yarmut. In that situation, a determined American president, siding with the Egyptians, forced an Israeli prime minister to agree to a retreat from all of Sinai, including those parts which even an ostensibly "dovish" Labour government had considered essential for Israel's security.

When one views the intentions of the present settlement goals in the light of Camp David and the subsequent Yarmut withdrawal, one can only conclude that the number of Israeli settlers (if we are speaking of a ratio of 100,000 Jews to 800,000 Arabs) will not be the prime factor in determining whether an Israeli prime minister will again have no choice but to succumb to American pressure.

Of much greater importance, if and when the time for another such confrontation comes, will be the degree of Israel's political,

economic and military dependence on the U.S.; the extent of Arab influence over Washington policymakers; the state of Israel's image, and especially the negative effect of the settlement image in the eyes of America's political and opinion-making communities.

Also of major importance will be the personality of the incumbent American president and his views on the Palestinian question; the degree of disarray within the Israeli political leadership at the time (remember Rabin and Peres in 1975 against Kissinger and Begin, Dayan and Weizman pulling in different directions in 1978); and especially the personal determination and tenacity under pressure of the Israeli prime minister of the day.

The ability to stand up to future American pressures for withdrawal is not as hopeless as the obvious imbalance in power between client Israel and patron America would indicate. For Israel and its leadership — of all mainstream political stripes — the question of maintaining Israeli control over a substantial part of the territories and the prevention of the rise of an independent Palestine is seen as a matter of life and death. For America, the Palestinian issue is of fluctuating importance. Ironically, the experience of the past few years shows that the infusion of Jewish settlers into Judea and Samaria, alongside the indigenous Palestinian population, has had the effect, by way of the American media, of intensifying the concern of American policymakers.

To my mind, the goal of lowering the Palestinian issue on America's list of political priorities is of much greater importance than that of getting on with a provocative forced-peace Israeli settlement of the territories.

PRAGMATISTS among leaders in Mr. Begin's Herut party and in many of the settlements, when they let their hair down, often go over to speaking of a combination of Jewish settlement and Arab migration as the factors that will eventually lead to full in-

corporation of the territories into Israel, despite international opposition and the limitation of Israel's own monetary and human resources.

They point out that these pragmatists dismiss the Cassandra-like prophecies of a rapid increase in the Arab population. They point out that during the 15 years of the Israeli occupation, the ratio between the two populations in the area made up of Israel proper and the territories under Israeli control has remained relatively stable, at 63 per cent Jews to 37 per cent Arabs.

These figures can be attributed to a large Arab migration from the territories that is offsetting the admittedly higher rate of Arab natural increase, they say.

LABOUR'S Ra'anan Weitz refutes these views in their various versions, which he calls "the messianic and the pragmatic."

The messianic view, he holds, argues that a determined "greater Israel" drive on the part of the government will bring about the immigration of a million Jews from the Diaspora, akin to the mass aliyah that followed the 1948 War of Independence and the creation of Israel. Weitz believes that this is self-delusion and that the events of the War of Independence period, regarding both the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs, were unique and will never be repeated.

This, he says, is especially true of the thesis advanced by the Herut "pragmatists" who believe that a combination of legal measures (not sheer force), the realities of an ever-increasing number of Jewish settlers and the push and pull factors of the Arab economy in the West Bank and in the Arab oil states will induce a growing number of Arabs to leave the territories.

Such misguided expectations, he says, are a horrendous misreading of the determination of the Arab states and of the local population to learn from and not to repeat their mistakes of 1948. At that time, the large-scale exodus of the Palestinian refugees was a response not to Israeli pressures but to a misguided Arab strategy of getting the local Arab population out of their own armies' field of fire. The aftermath of the 1967 conquest of the West Bank in which the Arab population has stayed put, and has been assisted financially by the Arab world, should be a case in point.

IRONICALLY, the recent settlement drive, and especially the media reports it has generated, has had a distinct and major impact that flies in the face of the official American litany that "settlements are prejudicial to peace."

In the past few months a growing number of Arab leaders in the territories — and according to some reports, even King Hussein of Jordan and the PLO's Yasser Arafat — have been spurred on by the settlement drive to argue that "if the Arabs do not turn around and negotiate with Israel today, there may well be nothing left to negotiate about tomorrow."

This is certainly not the intention of the Begin government in the urgency that has informed its latest settlement campaign. But it may well be that the sense of parallel urgency that it is engendering among the Arabs could in the end lead to some movement, at least to some form of interim accommodation between Israel and the Palestinians.

(This is the last in a series of articles.)

## VIEWPOINT

# Challenge for Zionism

By Max M. Fisher

MUCH HAS BEEN written about the accomplishments and failings of the recent World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem. Since the WZO is an equal partner with the central fund-raising organizations of the Diaspora in the Reconstituted Jewish Agency, the congress admittedly has an impact on the Agency's future. There is, however, a legal and functional separation between the two bodies.

The WZO is assigned responsibility for the fulfilment of classical Zionist programmes, such as immigration from the Free World, Hebrew education, and youth work in the Diaspora. The Jewish Agency is assigned responsibility for the immigration from countries of distress, initial absorption, youth care and training, absorption in agricultural settlements and selective social programmes in Israel.

The policy-making body of the Jewish Agency is the Board of Governors whose chairman and 50 per cent of its members are, by agreement, community leaders from the Diaspora. The other 50 per cent of the board is comprised of the members of the WZO Executive who are elected at the World Zionist Congress. The Zionist Congress, strictly speaking, relates to the activities of the WZO departments, not to those of the Agency.

From the very outset of "reconstitution" we established the guideline that WZO party considerations are irrelevant to the Agency's operation. By agreement and convention, the selection of the Chairman of the Executive and all Agency department heads, including their respective directors-general, is subject to the consultation and consent of the Diaspora partners in the Jewish Agency and are elected by the Agency's Board of Governors.

This process of consultation and consent was implemented at the 29th World Zionist Congress held in 1978 and was continued at the 30th Congress held last December in Jerusalem. In fact, I appointed a representative team of Diaspora leaders who attended the 30th Congress and who conveyed, clearly and firmly, the opinions and consensus of their colleagues concerning all candidates for Agency portfolios. I have personally been involved in long negotiations which confirm this right and practice.

We can be proud of the calibre of our departmental civil service. Each director-general now in office was selected by a search committee of the Agency board. In a few months the current Director-General of Project Renewal will leave for a position in private industry. A search committee of the Board of Governors is now in the process of interviewing candidates for this top professional administrative post. It is clearly understood by all concerned in Israel that competence and not any other consideration will be the basis for the selection of a new director-general of Project Renewal.

I am concerned, however, by misleading information which has appeared regarding the Agency's budgetary process and the controls asserted by contributors to the annual campaign. The Agency has established a procedure which begins with the Jewish Agency Executive, including leaders of the UJA and Keren Hayesod, in determining the parameters and priorities of the annual budget.

In February the budget and finance committee of the Board of Governors, with the participation of representatives of the Council of Jewish Federations and Large Cities Budgeting Conference of North American Federations, meets in Jerusalem for a week for an extended review, on a line-by-line basis, of the budgets for aliyah, rural settlement, Youth Aliya and Project Renewal. We monitor the expenditure of these funds regularly, have set firm limits on the Agency's debt and have developed a plan for its retirement. In fact, when the Harvard Business School, at my invitation, reviewed the Agency control system now in place, a leading authority on non-profit organizations stated that it was the best ever seen.

The existing structure has performed effectively in settling more than a million and a half immigrants, building close to 500 settlements and educating thousands of young people from all segments of Israeli society.

We in the Diaspora are becoming more involved every year; hundreds of Diaspora communal leaders have made an impact on Agency programmes through the annual Agency assembly. The shape and drive of Project Renewal, which grew from their personal involvement and interest, is now being applied to the details of other programmes, and we shall continue to expand our involvement, and our concern for the quality of life in Israel.

In spite of the progress made, it was my feeling that after a decade of working together with WZO leadership, the time had come for a review of the operations and structure of the Jewish Agency. Two years ago, at Caesarea, we launched the process of change in order to build a better Jewish Agency.

I am pleased to report that at the forthcoming Agency assembly, to be held in Jerusalem during the week of June 19-24, 1983, we will have an opportunity to deal with the key issues which have been the subject of intensive discussion in the various Caesarea commissions on goals and objectives of the Agency, the role of the organized community in aliyah and Jewish-Zionist education, Agency budget and fiscal procedures, its management and governance.

In July 1980, I stated that "This process will take some time but we should begin to deal with the problem in a disciplined and systematic fashion. I am against change for the sake of change but I am for change which is responsive to the needs of our times. History and Zionism have convinced me that Jewish unity is the key to Jewish survival, and I will not willingly see our great alliance weakened in any way." That is why I am distressed by some reactions to the proceedings of the recent Zionist Congress as reported in the media.

The Zionist Congress is the supreme forum of the WZO whose representatives, as noted above, constitute 50 per cent of the Agency. If the Agency is to attain its goals, it is imperative that the "Zionist Movement" succeed in its efforts to galvanize world-wide support for the aims of Zionism as spelled out in the Jerusalem Programme of the WZO.

During the course of our deliberations at Caesarea, we realized that many of these Zionist aims are held in common by the partners in the Jewish Agency. There was every reason to believe that the "Caesarea Process" would be a focal point of discussion at the plenary of the Zionist Congress so that we could, with greater confidence, move forward together to build a better Jewish Agency for the coming generation.

We now know that the centrality of Israel can no longer be taken for granted. The Jewish community is confronted with a rising tide of assimilation in the Diaspora. Israel itself wrestles with the problem of emigration and decreasing aliyah. At such a time in our history, can the Jewish people afford to convene a Zionist Congress which is perceived as having dealt primarily with the distribution of portfolios and political party patronage? Do these parochial concerns speak to the needs and aspirations of our youth in Israel and in the Diaspora?

In 1981, at the joint session of the Zionist General Council and the Jewish Agency Assembly, I observed that: "The citizens of Israel vote in an Israeli election not as members of a WZO party, but as Israeli nationals for Israeli political parties with different and opposing attitudes on foreign and domestic issues. Our Zionist programmes of aliyah, Jewish education, Project Renewal, consolidation of settlements, campus activities, all continue — unabated — regardless of the outcome of Israeli elections."

"Why then should the result of Israel's elections be a key factor in determining, at the World Zionist Congress, the composition of our executives? ...We should begin to consider alternate approaches for the selection of leadership which would reflect the totality of Israeli society and Diaspora institutions as well."

"If such a crucial change would come about, because we have the moral courage to bring it about, it might not be necessary to maintain, indefinitely, two separate bodies within the Reconstituted Jewish Agency."

In repeating this message to my friends within the leadership of the Zionist Movement, I am encouraged by their own expressed desire for change. We, the "new Zionists" of the Diaspora are steadfast in our support for Israel and its people. The Reconstituted Jewish Agency is the strongest single link between Israel and the Diaspora. We in the Agency and in the WZO have an opportunity and a responsibility to strive together toward the goal of excellence in all we undertake. Let us meet our responsibility with vision, courage and determination.

(Max M. Fisher is Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency for Israel.)

## MARATHON WALK BY 10 NEW JERSEY SYNAGOGUES PROVIDES AMBULANCE TO ISRAEL



New York, N.Y.: Under the sponsorship of Congregation B'nai Israel of Rumson, N.J., and the Chairmanship of Joel Whitman, ten Synagogues in the Shore Area in New Jersey, and their membership, participated in a 25 kilometer marathon walk beginning in Rumson, N.J., and ending in Fair Haven, N.J. to raise funds for the purchase of a fully equipped ambulance for presentation to Magen David Adom, (MDA), Israel's Red Cross Society. The participating Synagogues were: Congregation B'nai Israel of Rumson, N.J., Temple Shalom and Temple Beth Ahim of Aberdeen, N.J., Congregation Beth Shalom of Red Bank, N.J., Temple Beth Torah of Ocean, N.J., Temple Beth El of Oakhurst, N.J., Congregation Ohev Shalom of Marlboro, N.J., Monmouth Reform Temple of Tinton Falls, N.J., Temple Beth Shalom of Manalapan, N.J., and Congregation Sons of Israel of Englishtown, N.J. At the dedication ceremony Mr. Whitman is shown sitting in the ambulance surrounded by representatives of the ten Synagogues.

In presenting Mr. Whitman, on behalf of all the Synagogues, with the coveted Pikuach Nefesh Award, David Sidman, National Director of ARMDI, stated, "This great communal effort truly represents an outpouring of love, concern and dedication for the health and welfare of the people of Israel. The spirit of Pikuach Nefesh, the saving of lives, in its purest form, is symbolized by the presenting of this MDA Ambulance."

American Red Magen David for Israel, (ARMDI), sole U.S. support of Magen David Adom, supplies Ambulances, Mobile Intensive Care Ambulances, Emergency Medical Equipment and funds to MDA in Israel. ARMDI National Headquarters, 888 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10106. 212-757-1627. (Communicated)

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THE ENGLISH author of a best-selling book on the West German Baader-Meinhof terrorists is now on the trail of the PLO.

Jillian Becker's *Hitler's Children* has been published in eight languages and, to date, has sold over half a million copies. Considered the definitive work on the subject, it was chosen *Newsweek's* book of the year by Golo Mann in January, 1978.

Becker has broadcast and lectured on terrorism all over the world. She is an unlikely looking hunter of terrorists. The mother of three children, she is small in stature, large in intelligence and intensity. Born in South Africa, she has lived in London since 1960. Her previous works include three highly praised novels, *The Keep*, *The Union* and *The Virgin*. The third, about relationships across the colour bar, was banned in South Africa.

She turned from fiction to fact, she explained during her latest working visit to Israel (and Lebanon), "because I grew out of the emotional stage of my life into a more cerebral phase, requiring more satisfaction of the mind. I found fact, if not always stranger than fiction, certainly much more interesting."

The Baader-Meinhof group intrigued her "because it was a phenomenon of our time, happening to middle-class, well-educated boys and girls of my own generation and background. I felt they were, in a sense, retarded, and rather too did for that kind of adolescent extremism. I felt I understood them. But I don't share the view that to understand all is to forgive all. Even the most objective judge comes to a verdict when he has heard all the evidence. I tried to set out all the facts I discovered and let my readers judge for themselves."

Intensive research for *Hitler's Children* led her naturally to the Palestine Liberation Organization. "If you look at the record," she points out, "the close connections are obvious. The German terrorists received most of their arms from the PLO. Their leaders trained with the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in Jordan, and one of them, Ulrike Meinhof, actually dispatched her five-year-old twins to be raised as terrorists. Fortunately, they were rescued during a stop-over in Sicily en route to Jordan."

"The Arab and German groups use each other in many ways, including cooperative endeavours. In March, 1973, Arab gunmen of Black September held five diplomats hostage in Khartoum. Their demands included the release of Baader-Meinhof prisoners in West Germany."

"Two German terrorists were used to hijack a French airline to Entebbe. And at Mugadishu, the Arabs who did the hijacking demanded the release of 11 Baader-Meinhof leaders from German jails. Terrorists from other countries, of course, were also used."

THE INTERNATIONAL network of terrorism, she says, "isn't masterminded by some James Bond-type villain sitting at the centre of the web and pulling strings; but contact has been made between groups all over the world. What is really interesting is that these groups are both of the extreme right and the extreme left, who are identical twins in their political extremism and cruelty."

"The left-wing Baader-Meinhof people got their first weapons from the neo-Nazis. The link between the

early Arab terrorists of 1936-39 and the Nazis was very strong, just as today the PLO is widely known to have ties with neo-Nazi groups in West Germany."

*Time* magazine's review of *Hitler's Children* noted the "uncanny similarity between those supposedly leftist views [of the Baader-Meinhof group] and those expressed in *Mein Kampf* more than 50 years ago."

Becker points out that "the last generation of terrorists in Germany were the Nazis, and these are children of the young adults of the Nazi period. Like the Nazis, they are ruthless murderers, and their extreme anti-Semitism is now expressed in the intellectually fashionable term 'anti-Zionism.'"

"But it is important to notice that most of the terrorist groups in the world are of left-wing persuasion, and there is very hard evidence that they have had considerable assistance — usually quiet and indirect — from the Soviet Union."

"The evidence reveals that behind terrorism in the West lies a certain expertise that can in many instances be traced to the KGB. It is known that the Soviet Union supplied immense quantities of armaments to the PLO, and Arafat's visits to Moscow are well publicized."

"Undoubtedly, the Soviet ambassador, who sat all those years in Beirut, and whom an American television report on the assassination attempt against the Pope described as the top KGB man in the Middle East, played a quiet but very vital role in the destruction of Lebanon by the PLO."

Becker maintains that international terrorism operates everywhere *outside* the Communist Bloc. To quote from her book, "The Palestinian cause provided Japanese, South Americans and Germans with a moral excuse to perform acts of extreme violence in a spirit of unshakable self-righteousness."

"As a result, Becker emphasizes, 'it is clear that Israel has done the Western world a very great favour in defeating the PLO as soundly as it has in Lebanon, because to speak of international terrorism without mentioning the PLO would be like describing the circulation of the blood without mentioning the heart.'"

"The PLO was essential in the arming, training and organization of international terrorism."

WHAT MAKES a terrorist? "All my evidence points to a certain kind of personality, people with a tremendous drive to be heroes, to take a shortcut to the heroic posture. Ahmed Zaki Yumani, the Saudi oil minister who was kidnapped at the 1976 OPEC conference in Vienna by the infamous Carlos (accompanied by German terrorists), asked Carlos why he was doing it. Carlos replied, 'I want to be a hero.' I think that if Carlos at no other time in his life spoke the truth, he did then."

"There are people who are genuine heroes — such as Col. Yonatan of Entebbe — but these aren't people who set out with the idea of being heroes. The true hero is a fairly self-sacrificing sort of person who doesn't perhaps plan what he does, but in a moment of crisis acts heroically."

"The terrorists are people driven by strong egotistical urges, heartless, ruthless people who aren't really rebelling against authority, but taking their parents' ideas and exaggerating them."



A Palestinian woman terrorist (left) and the late Ulrike Meinhof.

## Cruel twins of terror

By PEARL SHEFFY GEFEN/Special to The Jerusalem Post

Was she not afraid of tracking such ruthless people?

"No," she says, "because, as egotistical people, it would not fit their self-definition to do spiteful or gratuitous harm in a small way. Besides, on the whole, I don't think people kill their biographers, because it's flattering to their vanity to be written about, even unfavourably."

Becker's method is to collect all the facts she can, and to be especially careful "not to neglect any facts because one doesn't like them. One mustn't do what many newspapers do, which is a sort of selectivity that amounts to distortion."

Which brings her to the media reports on the war in Lebanon. After many days touring in Lebanon, she is appalled by "the extent of the lie that has been propagated in Western countries. The media simply didn't tell the truth. The reports I saw in Britain said that Tyre, Sidon and Beirut had been devastated. One journalist said it was 'worse than Dresden or Hiroshima.' He obviously was never near either of those places."

"The journalists were either ignorant of the fact that war had been raging in the Lebanon since 1975, or else they chose to ignore or hide that fact. What has most disturbed me is that I've heard of editors and television producers who turned down reports from Israel-based journalists trying to tell what was really happening."

"To what extent it was the journalists' fault, and to what extent it was editorial policy, I don't know. But I would like to think that journalists who were telling the truth and had their words distorted would have protested about it."

SHE WAS particularly appalled by the television reports on Nobel

Peace Prize-winner Mother Teresa and the children found starving and lying in their own excrement in a hospital in West Beirut.

"It was so obviously a media event, with lights and cameras and instructions to Mother Teresa, 'now please scoop up this skeletal child, thank you very much,' that sort of stage-managed thing which was degrading to Mother Teresa who, one assumes, is a genuinely humane person."

"It was callous and cynical exploitation of the suffering of the children, and of the good mother, to an end that was mendacious, because the implication of the media was that the Israelis were to blame for it, which clearly wasn't true."

"Mother Teresa herself said in a later television interview broadcast in Israel that these children had obviously been like this for a long time. The most horrifying thing is that, instead of the guilty being punished, those who had kept these children like this, long before the Israelis came, not only get off scot-free, but have the triumph of seeing their victims being used for their own anti-Israel propaganda purposes."

Becker is also indignant at the PLO claim that the terrorists won a great "victory" by holding out in Beirut against the great Israeli army. "This is patently absurd," she insists. "The Israelis obviously could have polished off the PLO far more quickly, and, didn't, do so because they didn't want to harm civilians."

"We know the PLO deliberately hid behind the civilian population. We know they had their guns in hospitals, schools and orphanages. We know they used women and children as shields."

"Moreover, the Israelis clearly

could have brought the end about more quickly with a more absolute siege," had there not been interference from well-meaning people who didn't understand the issues.

The humanitarianism of the Israelis was used against them in the way terrorists always blackmail liberal democracies with their own consciences. In fact, if the Arab world generally had been humanitarian, would they have left the Palestinians to suffer as they did in those camps all these years?

"How many corpses strewn the path of the PLO during the past seven years? The PLO took advantage of the fact that the world was crying out against the horrors in Beirut — horrors which were, in fact, not generally committed by the Israelis but attributed to them by PLO statements."

"In fact, it begins to look to me very much as though the list of atrocities which the PLO has accused the Israelis of committing, quickly calling in cameramen to hospitals and so on, was a very clever cover-up. Knowing that their crimes were soon to be disclosed, it's as if they made a list of what they had done, especially crimes to children, and accused the Israelis of them first, so that the world would not know whom to believe."

"I have such hard evidence that the PLO committed these atrocities that there can be no doubt whatsoever, and although I've looked very hard, I've not found any evidence at all that there has been a single atrocity committed by the Israelis. We know, for instance, that the child President Reagan was so upset about, and whose picture he kept on his desk, was simply not mutilated as the press reported. The propaganda war has been waged very skillfully by the PLO, but exceedingly inaccurately."

DURING HER stay in Lebanon, Jillian Becker met many Lebanese and Palestinians, including PLO prisoners detained by the Israelis. She prefers not to reveal names or details yet, "because that's the substance of my book. But I have found out a great deal. I've listened to people on all sides, and I will set out these facts in my book in as unbiased an account as possible."

This book on the PLO will be published next autumn.

"The stories of rape by PLO men which I have heard and authenticated in the last few weeks in Lebanon, from the victims and their families and from PLO prisoners themselves, are not only undoubted but terrible," Becker says.

One involved the rape and murder of a 10-year-old Lebanese girl by a gang of drugged PLO thugs. There was rape between PLO members themselves. One prisoner told us of his teenage daughter who was abducted by a PLO commander, and later sent back to him after being raped repeatedly. The father, "to save the family honour," took her into the hills and slit her throat, he himself admitted.

"On the other hand," Becker notes, "a most amazing fact of history was that there was not one single case of rape perpetrated by Israelis. One woman in a camp near Sidon told me this was of vital importance to them. No other invading force in history — including Americans — have ever behaved so impeccably."

"In fact," says Becker, "some of the anti-Israeli Moslems are saying this proves the Israelis are not real men, since they don't — or can't — rape!"

## FOCUS

FIFTY YEARS AGO — on January 30, 1933 — Paul von Hindenburg, the president of Germany's first republic, exercised his constitutional emergency powers and appointed a chancellor by decree: Adolf Hitler.

Grudgingly the senile *ersatz* kaiser, who headed a republic he and his likes detested, had yielded to the cabal around him — his weak and corrupt son Oskar; the fickle Franz von Papen; the ubiquitous presidential state secretary Otto Meißner; and the scheming General Kurt von Schleicher.

Hitler, the "Bohemian corporal" whom the Old Junker despised, that "house painter whom he could not possibly install in the chair of Bismarck," was made *reichskanzler*. The plebeian rabble-rouser was to be the last bulwark against the Bolshevism and political chaos, which law-and-order-minded Germans so dreaded.

Little did the old monarchist imagine how swiftly and brutally, and with what infernal mastery of deceit, Hitler would sweep away the decent conservatives that were to tame him, while at the same time neutralizing, bribing, perverting and liquidating the forces that might have opposed him.

Little did he — or nearly anyone else — foresee the utterly nihilistic regime that this man would institute in such a short time, a regime so heinous in its terror and aggression, its tyranny and inhuman mass murder, its total perversion of all human values, and its ultimate self-destructiveness as to have no equal in human experience, and to give the lie to any notion of the "banality of evil."

THE DIRECT consequences of that fateful day are now a matter of record. The world that existed before the Nazi regime was shattered. The war Hitler unleashed, and the organized mass murder that was a central part of his design, cost the lives of 40 million human beings in Europe alone, among them six million Jews, two-thirds and more of the Jewish people of Europe. Many millions more were uprooted, their existence mutilated forever.

Hitler's own country — the country of the "master race" — lay in ruins, its cities reduced to rubble, more than six million of its population dead and the rest hungry.

Numbed by despair and the collapse of their dreams, the vast majority was ready to become subservient once again to authority — but now, the authority was exercised by the conquerors.

Ever since the collapse of that mad 12-year dream of a 1,000 year Reich, people throughout the world — and in Germany particularly — have asked: "How was it possible?"

Just two weeks ago, 1,000 historians gathered in Berlin to debate this and related questions, specifically, whether Hitler's rise could have been prevented or aborted. A seemingly endless stream of questions has been posed and answers given in a voluminous collection of literature. But this is not satisfactory. The multiplicity and multi-dimensionality of the explanations does not add up to a comprehensive explanation; it tends to dissipate the horror and the uniqueness of this phenomenon as much as it dulls the perception of its universal aspects; it tends to blunt the awareness of the danger of a revival, however different its shape may be, and it renders historically remote a cataclysm that has echoes in the present.

HITLER AND NAZISM: The sub-



(Camera Press)

## Fifty years after Hitler

'There has been no substantial break with the past. Therefore West German democracy must continue to be subject to question,' writes The Post's Meir Merhav from Bonn.

ject poses a thousand questions and evokes a thousand answers. And yet there have been no satisfactory answers. They simply beg more questions. For example, Karl Dietrich Bracher, doyen of the students of National Socialism, has stated that "the history of National Socialism was, from beginning to end, the history of an underestimation."

But the question remains: Why was Hitler underestimated? For underestimated he was by the masses who voted for him, by the right-wing reactionaries and conservatives who supported him and hoped to tame him, by the generals of his own army, by some of his own followers and, above all, by the millions who voted for the Social Democrats and Communists.

He was underestimated even by the German Jews who, through their own organizations, sought to placate the Nazis.

Hitler's reign of terror could have been prevented or aborted during two short periods. He could have been brought down between January 30 and May 1, 1933; when he broke the German trade unions, the bastion of left opposition.

After that, the night of total terror descended on Germany and made internal resistance completely ineffective. Effective resistance could thereafter come only from those who had access to power from within the system itself — as it did,

belatedly, on July 20, 1944, when an attempt to assassinate Hitler failed.

If history has a lesson, it must be sought in the dismal failure of the left — the only true republicans in the Weimar Republic, the only repository of genuine democratic values — to unite. The left included, in 1933, the Communists. But the Communists described the Social Democrats as "social fascists," and the Social Democrats had a pathological hatred of the Communists. Both remained blind to the danger of the common enemy until it was too late.

The abject disintegration of the Social Democrats was saved only by their courageous vote, on March 23, against the Enabling Bill that gave Hitler absolute dictatorial power.

That, however, did not prevent them, even later, from pitiful attempts to maintain themselves within the illegitimate legality of Hitler's regime, to the point of sending out emissaries to tone down the anti-Hitler propaganda of socialist parties abroad, and of voting for Hitler's "peace declaration" on May 17.

FROM WITHOUT, Hitler could have been toppled in 1938, before he was ready for war, had not England and France succumbed to his demands through their acquiescence, they handed him bloodless victories which helped him capture the hearts and minds of

nearly all Germans, forcing the few who continued to oppose him into the position of traitors.

The destruction that Hitler brought on his own people ranks only after the mass murder he committed on the Jews and the destruction and death he rained upon the Soviet Union. He left Germany not only physically ruined, but stripped of its self-respect, ashamed of its place in human history, uncertain of its identity, seeking refuge in the compulsive reconstruction of material damage and in supranational political entities — Europe, the Atlantic Alliance and the pseudo-family of socialist states.

The physical rebuilding of the two Germanys has been little short of miraculous. Indeed, the conservative Bavarian leader Franz-Josef Strauss was able to exclaim: "We are again somebody" and "We no longer want to be reminded by everybody of our past."

Yet the past continues to haunt the Germans in innumerable ways. It is they, more than anyone else, who continue to ask how it could have happened, who they are, what they want to be.

INSECURITY — in large part, no doubt, because the Second Republic that arose out of defeat did not represent a complete break with the past — is revealed in the plaintive cry, commonly heard, that one must finally and at long last, "draw a line under the past." Only those who are uncertain about their present and future feel compelled to close the book on their past.

The Federal Republic of Germany today is a functioning parliamentary democracy. Freedoms have been achieved that would look strange in some other, much longer-established, democracies.

Nevertheless, talking to Germans, reading their papers, watching their television, one gets the impression that their democracy is institutionalized, a product of "law and order" established and secured from above, rather than firmly rooted in the consciousness of the people.

The constitution is a substitute for an unattained sense of national identity and for a tradition that can neither be a source of pride and guidance for present conduct and future aims nor be denied.

Significantly, perhaps, the German internal security force is called the *Verfassungsschutz* — the defence force of the constitution.

Germany — West Germany, that is, for East Germany is another story — is democratic. But its democracy remains rootless. Despite the earnest attempt to establish it firmly and forever, it is a democracy implanted from above, a matter of accommodating the Allied occupying powers and acquiescing in their "re-education." It was not, as in other Western countries, the result of a victorious revolution or a struggle for national liberation.

DEMOCRACY, therefore, is fragile in West Germany. For West Germany has not broken with its past — the judiciary, the bureaucracy and administration, the legal corpus and much else have been carried over unchanged. There remains continually under the surface of change.

Not for nothing did Heinrich Böll, Nobel laureate in literature, wonder how all those who had applauded Hitler became democrats overnight.

Germany today, of course, is not the Germany of the past. There is

an earnest effort to be democratic and, especially among the younger generation, to shed any chauvinism. Bonn is neither the Berlin of Bismarck and the Kaiser, nor is it Weimar. It is certainly not the Berlin or the Nuremberg of Hitler, even if one can find anti-Semitism without Jews and, as Henryk Broder said, even without anti-Semites.

Germans talk of *vergangenheitsbewältigung* — of "overcoming" the past, but *bewältigung* also means "to cope with," "to accommodate."

Few, it seems, realize fully that one cannot cope with the past if one tries to accommodate it. What is lacking, to this day is that clear break with the past that might have heralded a truly new beginning, a genuine atonement for the past, that might have wiped out the collective shame of which Theodor Heuss, the first president of the Federal Republic, spoke. By now it is too late to make such a break.

The few remaining trials of Nazi criminals drag out endlessly, and the accused are acquitted on grounds that make a mockery of justice, law and criminal procedure, while the victims of the murderers are slandered and held up to ridicule. Old-time Nazis, "loyal state servants" all, continue to receive their pensions. Many continue to be held in high esteem — a continuation of the story which began with Konrad Adenauer's secretary of state Hans Globke, the commentator of the Nuremberg race laws, and which continues to this day.

Indeed, the Bundestag, on the day of its dissolution last month, had no more urgent business than to pass a unanimous appeal to release the last four war criminals — without so much as a thought, even by the Social Democrats, of the bill to prohibit neo-Nazi propaganda that Auschwitz was a lie.

THERE HAS BEEN no substantial break with the past. Therefore West German democracy must continue to be subject to question — by Germans more than by anyone else. It remains a democracy on probation, at least until the generation that lived through Hitler and the horror and its consequences recede into the distant past.

For Jews and Israelis, that past is unlikely to recede. No nation can ever forget the extinction of one-third of its people — the third that was, in many respects, its most vibrant component.

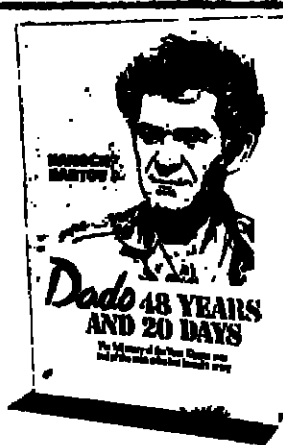
As time goes on the Holocaust becomes more deeply seared into our national memory. As the generation of the survivors ages and dies out, it seems, personal grief and injury of body and soul becomes submerged in a broader sense of national amputation.

We Israelis of the generation that participated in building the State of Israel and of the generation that was born into it do not yet fully comprehend the ultimate consequences of the Holocaust. There is a theory in Israel — and, in a perverted sense, in Germany — that the State of Israel is the direct result of the Holocaust, implying that without the Holocaust Israel would never have come into being.

In Germany, this causal link is taken to establish a secondary, indirect responsibility of the Germans for the fate of the Palestinians. But one might as plausibly claim that the Nazi regime and the war it unleashed — which also led to the dissolution of the British Empire — is responsible too, for the millions

(Continued on page 15.)





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Ethan Haber  
Military Correspondent  
(Yediot Aharanot Daily)

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HISTORY is about to be made in the Israeli, and perhaps the entire Jewish organizational world. Dr. Amnon Goldenberg is stepping down after only four years as president of the Bar Association, having already resigned at the end of his fifth year as chairman of Yad Chaim Weizmann.

All this makes Goldenberg the exception in a society where chief rabbis seek to change the law to get themselves a second 10-year term, where it is virtually unheard of for someone to leave high organizational posts voluntarily.

Goldenberg says that "It is better to go when people still want you to stay." Not only will he leave when his four-year term ends on February 23; he advocates shorter periods of office, as is customary in many foreign bar associations.

The 48-year-old lawyer's name has been associated, especially by the political soothsayers of the press with plans to launch a new centre party. Goldenberg's social and professional eminence, and his reputation for integrity, have made him a source of speculation for the pundits.

But he finds it difficult to grasp why his repeated disclaimers of any political ambitions should not be accepted at face value.

"I'm not involved in any political party, and I'm not seeking a political career. The trouble in Israel is that once the media attach a label to you, no one will take you at your word," he declares.

Most recently, Goldenberg's name was being mentioned with near-certainty as a founding member of Yitzhak Berman's new Liberal Party forum, which reportedly has the broader purpose of serving as a launching pad for a centre party.

While he believes that the country needs a centre party, he thinks it would be "a complete mistake" to launch a new party now. The fate of the defunct DMC and Moshe Dayan's Telem should serve as a salutary example. The most feasible idea, in his view, would be for the Liberal Party to establish itself as an independent force, but only after Begin no longer heads the Likud. A revitalized Liberal Party would have a decent chance of returning six to 10 members to the Knesset and becoming a balancing element between the dominant blocs.

AS A SCION of one of our patrician families, Amnon Goldenberg is very much within the solid General Zionism tradition. His father, who died last year at the age of 90, was sent to Eretz Yisrael from Russia as a youth, and settled at Hadera, which he was destined to serve as mayor for a number of years. This was after he had become frustrated with the intrigues of the General Zionists, and it is perhaps from him that Amnon acquired his distaste for party politics. A Liberal, with both a capital and a small "l," he is on close personal terms with the Likud leadership and a declared admirer of Premier Menachem Begin, of whom he speaks as "one of the great leaders of our generation." He was Begin's original candidate for the justice portfolio back in 1977, a choice that was widely acclaimed at the time. But the DMC's entry into the coalition obliged Begin to allocate that ministry to Shmuel Tamir.

Goldenberg's political independence was highlighted when right at the start, he threw his considerable weight behind the move for a judicial inquiry commission into the Sabra-Shatilla massacres. It

## The gentle art of stepping down

'It is better to go when people still want you to stay,' says Amnon Goldenberg. The Bar Association president, who steps down this month, talks to The Post's Mark Segal.



is said that his disinterested intervention helped Begin to make up his mind on that weighty issue more quickly.

But Goldenberg differentiates between entering politics and contemplating taking the justice portfolio. "If anything, I regarded it as an extension of my professional work. Indeed, it is the only reason my wife allowed me to consider the idea," he remarks as we sit over a drink in his North Tel Aviv home where we began our interview.

It houses a fine collection of Israeli paintings which, he says, is his wife Ora's province. But the downtown law office where we resume our discussion later in the day represents his own solid personal style — an impressive library of law books, drawings of French and British court scenes, well-polished furniture.

AFTER TAKING his first and second law degrees at the Hebrew University, Goldenberg did his military service in the judge-advocate-general's office. In 1959, he went to England to do his Ph.D. at London University, sharing a flat with another Israeli doctoral candidate, Amnon Rubinstein. It was in London that he met his wife, who was also studying law. He has lectured at the Tel Aviv University law school and is due to become a full professor once he manages to complete a much-delayed book on lease law.

Asked if there are not too many lawyers in Israel, the outgoing president of the Bar Association replies with good humour, "Yes, we do lead the world in lawyers per capita." There are 10,000 attorneys registered with the Bar Association, but only about two-thirds actually practise.

"It sounds a lot, 6,000 practising lawyers for four million people in such a small country. I think it's due to the complexity of modern life and because we tend to be a most litigious people. There are few unemployed lawyers in Israel, to the best of my knowledge."

Goldenberg is convinced that Israel enjoys the highest quality of justice anywhere.

"I believe that we have one of the best systems in the world for the administration of justice. Each and every one of our citizens has a sense of social security because of his confidence in the integrity of our courts."

As an example of the international reputation of Israel's judges he cites the president of a big American corporation who was conducting simultaneous litigation in 26 countries and sought an early hearing in an Israeli court, because he wished to set a precedent that would be followed elsewhere. "It's the only place east of London I'm sure to get justice," he had said.

Goldenberg has some interesting proposals for expediting the administration of justice in Israel. He would combine the magistrates and district courts, whose functions are not always clearly differentiated, but feels that the main log-jam is the overloaded, schedule of the Supreme Court, where it takes two to three years for an appeal to be heard in the civil division. He sees the remedy not in an increase in the number of judges, but in emulating the British and American models and establishing a national Court of Appeal comprising 15 to 20 judges below the Supreme Court, which would then be free to deal with matters of principle, rather than having frequently to spend time on trivial issues.

He confirms having been offered a seat on the Supreme Court four years ago, but he turned down the honour. "I don't think a judge should be that young. Ideally, he or she should be in the mid-50s."

Since our interview, I have heard that Goldenberg is building a home in Jerusalem, but from everything said then, it does not seem to me that he is preparing to plunge into the political pond. In any case, a man of so many talents, who still has to celebrate his 50th birthday, has many options open to him in the coming decades.

## Market speculations

PUBLIC FACES  
Mark Segal

WHOSE HAND burst the Stock Market bubble? And was it by accident or design that the shares came tumbling down? These two questions preoccupied the country last week, with speculation as to the answer running as wild as the speculation on the Bourse itself.

It is pretty clear that the snowball started with a gentle push from Finance Minister Yoram Aridor and his director-general at the Treasury, Prof. Ezra Sadan. But it is much less certain that they knew they would start an avalanche with the lead, on January 20, 7 a.m. Kol Yisrael Newsreel that new restrictions were about to be imposed on the unit trusts.

In financial circles, many believe that Aridor and Sadan expected only a one-day "correction" in stock prices, which everyone and his brother knew were hugely inflated. And, it is said, the fact that the announcement was made on a Thursday, the last day of trading before the Exchange's two-day weekend, was designed to let things cool down over the Sabbath.

Or was it? Those who say that a major collapse was intended quote the mixed metaphor uttered by Sadan's close associate, Bank of Israel deputy governor Dr. Yakir Plesner, who said: "The Stock Exchange holds the country captive in a vicious circle; this phenomenon must be repaired."

THERE'S ALSO a conspiracy theory, that the big banks exploited the Treasury's attempt at heavy-handed psychology to settle some accounts with financial upstarts Yosef Rieger and Eliezer Fishman. It was only just over a week ago that Rieger and Fishman, whose unit trusts were the big hit of the 1982 market year, had the *hutzpa* to seek a seat on the board of the First International Bank, by virtue of their funds' holding of 40 per cent of the bank's shares.

According to some market-watchers, the big banks also were unhappy with the way that Rieger-Fishman "pirated away" shares from the Big Three's unit trusts and puffed them up in their Ronit and other funds.

ON ANOTHER FRONT, we have no confirmation at all for the story that the kibbutzim were big losers in

the Rieger-Fishman fiasco. But we have confirmed that Rieger, an investment counsellor who was once employed by Bank Hapoalim, and Fishman, a chartered accountant who used to audit the Kibbutz Artzi books, have been handling the investments of both kibbutz movements. If those socialist groupings have tasted the bitter fruits of *laissez faire* capitalism, we can expect intense ideological quarrels about the way kibbutzim invest their money.

THE IRONY of the week must be the fact that the Stock Exchange is due to move next month from its quarters on Allenby Road. The bourse's new permanent HQ is on the corner of streets named for Akad Ha'am who advocated Eretz Yisrael as a spiritual centre for the Jewish People, and Karl Netter, the Mikve Yisrael founder who advocated national revival through productive labour.

THE CHOICEST comment of the week may have come from Camer Theatre actor, and radio personality, Yossi Graber, who begged his Kol Yisrael listeners to forgive his ignorance of stocks and shares. "I invest in my overdraft," said Graber, "and it keeps growing and growing."



Deputy Premier Levy

And in Beit She'an David Levy admitted that he was below the poverty line. The Deputy Premier told a hometown audience that his net salary for December was IS24,000 "with which I have to provide for 11 persons."

MATTERS OF TIMING. Responding to Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's calls for patience in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee this week, Abba Eban quipped that the Defence Minister "advised us not to hold a stop-watch to the Lebanese timetable. To judge by his behaviour," Eban added, "we'd need a calendar."

CLASSMATES. Edouard Knoll, president of the JNF in France, is currently visiting Israel with his wife Yvette. He told me that he was a classmate of three well-known Israelis at the prestigious Institut d'Etudes Politiques in 1950-53. The old school chums are Paul Friedlander, today Hebrew University historian Prof. Shaul Friedlander; Meir Rosenne, who then earned expenses stamping passports at the Israel Embassy in Paris, where he is now the ambassador; and Ellahu Gottlieb, today Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee chairman Dr. Ellahu Ben-Elissar. Another student at the time was Jacques Chirac, today mayor of Paris and the prime Gaullist possibility for the presidency of the Republic.

DOWN UNDER. Ambassador David Goss and his wife Ann celebrated their third Australia Day in Israel by hosting a big party at the Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel. Goss noted that there were 70,000 Jews in Australia, and 6,000 Australians who are now Israelis.

INTERIOR MINISTER Yosef Burg did his best to rile Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek when the latter pleaded for more funds at a recent meeting of the Knesset interior committee. Wondered Burg: "What do you need such a lovely Jerusalem for? To tempt the Messiah to come earlier?" Kollek snorted back: "The Messiah won't come so quickly, because he won't want to come to a city that does not bother to provide winter heating for its aged."

## FIFTY YEARS AFTER HITLER

(Continued from page 13.)

who died and became refugees on the Indian sub-continent, to give but one example.

HITLER'S "final solution" which barely failed to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe, had an insufficiently recognized, though fundamental, effect on the Zionist endeavour and its creation, Israel.

With two-thirds of European Jewry murdered, the human reservoir of Zionism as a political movement of national liberation and social renaissance was decimated. Outside of Europe — the cradle of movements for national self-determination — there was no political Zionism of significance. In its competition with assimilationist trends, with sectarian religious orthodoxy, with universalist or nationally - Jewish - oriented socialism, Zionism's mainstream was humanist, libertarian, secular and democratic as well as

nationalist. In our rejection of the Jewishness of the Diaspora, we called ourselves "Hebrews" then. Outside Europe, there was no political Zionism to speak of. There was "love of Zion," which had existed for 2,000 years without any consequence beyond prayer and, for a few, the search for a burial place in the Holy Land.

For a generation, the old values of political Zionism still held. There was an heroic, almost superhuman effort to integrate the multitudes who came from the Oriental lands where "love of Zion" had been alive to the point of messianic ecstasy.

However, there had in those lands been no tradition of pride in political nationhood, no effort or need to draw upon the rich fount of Jewish ethics to advance universal humanist ideals, no longing for democracy as the precondition for equality.

The effort at integration assumed bureaucratic, in-

stitutionalized, paternalistic — and, thereby, undemocratic — forms. The human mainspring that might have kept political Zionism moving was burned in Auschwitz and Maidanek, in Treblinka and Sobibor.

HITLER AND HIS henchmen — the Himmlers and Heydrichs, the Eichmanns and the Kochs — have not succeeded in extinguishing the Jewish people. The plight of the pitiful remnants they left behind may even have accelerated the establishment of a Jewish state. But the extinction of those who might have been its constant fountainhead of renewal may have made the Zionist endeavour prematurely finite — a Levantine state among others in the Middle East, or a Jewish Diaspora community among others in the world.

Renaissance, if it comes, will be long in coming — and it will not be the same as it might have been.

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La plus grande communauté israélite de Bruxelles (Belgique) engage un jeune rabbin d'expression française, ayant au moins 5 ans d'expérience dans une communauté. Le candidat doit être diplômé d'une école rabbinique orthodoxe et connaître la rite Ashkenaze. Le "Rabbin de Bruxelles" est un fonctionnaire de l'état Belge, et bénéficie des avantages sociaux, assurance-maladie, pension. Les candidatures, accompagnées du curriculum vitae et d'une copie du diplôme, seront envoyées à: Monsieur Roger Levi, président de la communauté israélite de Bruxelles, rue Joseph Dupont 2, 1000 Bruxelles Belgique.

Belgian Jewish community seeks young, orthodox rabbi with French background.

## Raoul Wallenberg: Angel of Rescue

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Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg is credited with having singlehandedly saved 100,000 Hungarian Jews from Nazi crematoria during six months in 1944. When the Russian army entered Hungary in January, 1945, Wallenberg was arrested. The Soviet government admitted in 1957 that they had detained him, but claimed Wallenberg had died in 1947. Conflicting reports from the Soviet *gulag* lead some to believe he is still alive today.

Wallenberg's heroic mission and uncertain fate are described and documented in this well-researched, dramatic report by Harvey Rosenfeld. The book has been acclaimed by many critics as the best of the half-dozen volumes recently published on Wallenberg's life and work. Raoul Wallenberg: Angel of Rescue is essential reading for anyone interested in this exceptional man.

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Raoul Wallenberg: Angel of Rescue is published by Prometheus Books, and is available from the New York office of The Jerusalem Post, or by mail. To order, fill out the form below and send it, with your payment, to The Jerusalem Post, 120 East 56th Street, New York, NY 10022.

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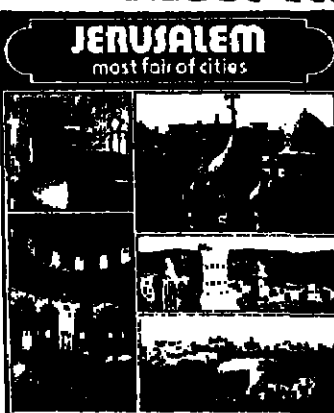
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# Nearly IS3m. was donated for Lebanon

WHEN WE concluded our Lebanon Campaign on December 24 last year, we anticipated that there was a great deal of money en route, delayed by holiday season mail. We promised to publish a final total towards the end of January, together with the names of last-minute donors. Final contributions amounted to IS1,744,48. We are pleased to say that our total has climbed to IS2,764,907.39. The fund is now officially closed and all monies will be transferred to the Joint Distribution Committee, which has been working with the war refugees in Lebanon.

The JDC purchased cement for housing and warm winter clothing for the refugees, and the time has come to pay the bills. The Lebanon Campaign was a Jerusalem Interfaith Project initiated by Mayor Teddy Kollek.

The final contributions came from:

- \$100 Saul London, New Brunswick, N.J.
- \$100.81 Nottingham Progressive Jewish Congregation, Nottingham, England.
- \$80 Dennis and Marina Rosen, Philadelphia, Pa.
- \$100 A group of British friends
- \$100 Anonymous, Amsterdam, Holland.
- \$100 Anonymous, Harrow, Middlesex, England.
- \$100 Bond Shalom, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- \$100 Anonymous, Evanston, Ill. Martin M. Miller, Detroit, Mich. Harold S. Komar, Little Silver, N.J. Alexander Silverstein, Beverly Hills, Ca. Contribution made at an interfaith service at Temple Hezekiah, San Francisco, Calif.
- \$1,000 Bella Sivan, Jerusalem
- \$15 Anonymous, Jamaica
- \$12,000 Kibbutz Kfar Hanassi
- \$10 Wade Moore, W. Prestonburg, Ky. In memory of my dear grandfather Paul Herman — Miriam Tannenbaum, Park Forest, Ill.
- \$11 Diane and Herbert Brode, Oceanville, N.J.
- \$100 Chofit K. Chaimowitz, Passaic, N.J.
- \$10 Rebecca and Aaron Goldberger, Burlington, Vermont Chofit K. Chaimowitz, Burlington, Vermont
- \$1,000 Koren Rehavia, Jerusalem
- \$100 Anonymous, Tel Aviv
- \$2 Kate Mary Hill, North Hollywood, Ca.
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- \$10 Sandra and Donald Botwinick, Highland Park, N.J. In memory of our beloved parents — Renell and Lea Hollander, Secaucus, New Jersey, Oakland, Ca. Sidney I. Horowitz, Great Neck, N.Y. Al. Davis and Karen Strauss, Fair Lawn, N.J. Joseph Clark, New York, N.Y. In memory of the innocent who have perished in the Lebanese turmoil — Scott Lev and Deborah Rubin Fields, Lincolnwood, Ill.

- \$100 Vivienne and Sydney Black, Leeds, England.
- \$15 Minnie K. Weinstein, Hicksville, N.Y.
- \$1576 In honour of the birthday of Shalomit Cohen, Jerusalem — her brother and sister-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Elliot Cohen.
- \$1540 Wally hopes for peace — Calgary, Jerusalem
- \$1500 Dr. Greta Weidenbaum, Jerusalem, formerly Naharya
- \$1548 Isaac Levi Alvarez, Kiryat Glat.
- \$1500 Ruth Hackett, Tel Aviv.
- \$100 Anne P. Vexler, Worcester, Mass.
- \$1300 Anonymous, Petah Tikva, Israel Nat. Nat. Nat.
- \$8 Harold Wharton, Flushing, N.Y.
- \$1250 Ludwig Bornstein, Tel Aviv. Prof. Joseph J. Rosenman, Tel Aviv. Temy Goldwasser, Kibbutz Giv'at Hadya.
- \$1250 Shifra Arkin, Haifa. Anonymous, Kibbutz Neot Mordechai, Anonymous, Tel Aviv.

\$5 Isabelle Ruth Opler, Quebec, Canada. A.S. Robb, Lubbock, Texas. In memory of all my brothers who died to keep Israel free — Yitzhak Goldwasser, Brooklyn, N.Y.

\$1500 Ruth Shiner, Kibbutz Hefziba.

\$1500 Sarah Miller, Bnei Brak. With hopes for a peaceful end to all hostilities — Morris and Libby Alpert, Haifa.

WE DON'T know why but there was a drastic drop in contributions last week compared to amounts donated since the start of our current drives. The Toy Fund has grown by only IS6,905.52 and now stands at IS1,137,797.52.

Unless a lot more money comes in very quickly, we will not be able to buy all the watches we intended to give as bar mitzva and bat mitzva presents to youngsters in government institutions and in foster care. Please help us to bring some joy into the lives of these young adolescents who have so very little which they can call their own.

Send your Toy Fund and "Forsake Me Not" contributions now to The Jerusalem Post, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem, Israel, and remember to make out a separate cheque for each fund and to block print or type all names intended for publication.

Toy Fund donors were:

- \$12,000 Holon/Bat Yam Branch Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel
- \$15 In honour of our grandchildren Brent, David and Wade I. Silver of Cherry Hill, New Jersey and Andrew Rosen of Ventnor, New Jersey — Norman and Cynthia Rosen, Cherry Hill, N.J.
- \$15,000 Perla and Jules Fox, Kfar Shmaryahu.
- \$15 In celebration of Tu B'Shvat, the children of Israel — Mechiel Alpert and Bet Feinle Beth Shalom Torah School, Long Beach, Ca.

IS300 Gerry Pearl, Tel Aviv.

IS300 Always remembering Doris Levart of Kfar Hama — Fred and Evelyn Parker, Jerusalem.

IS100 In memory of my beloved mother Rae Frankenthal — Sara Greenblatt, Lachish Daron.

## "FORSAKE ME NOT"

MOST IMMIGRANTS from America and Canada have one way or another benefited from the services of the AACI (Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel). The AACI does not confine itself to caring solely for its members. Its branches throughout the country contribute regularly to our funds, never favouring one above the other.

The most recent of these contributions are from the Holon/Bat Yam Branch, which sent in IS2,000 for each fund. Altogether, new "Forsake Me Not" contributions add up to IS22,934.95, bringing the total to IS1,429,305.49. There are many projects for the welfare of the aged which have been temporarily shelved due to the extreme need for heaters and blankets. Even with monies raised through The Jerusalem Post and other avenues, there are still many elderly people who have not received the benefit of a heater or an extra blanket.

"Forsake Me Not" donors were:

- \$12,000 The friends of The Small Mouse Circle honour Joel Paschke on the occasion of his 80th birthday.
- \$12,000 Bridget and Eric Silver, Jerusalem. The Holon/Bat Yam Branch of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel. Mollie and Serry Behr, Netanya.
- \$10 In honour of our parents Charlotte Wolf of Bronx, N.Y. and David B. Rosen of North Miami Beach, Florida and to the people of Israel and our many friends, thank you for another lovely visit — Cynthia and Norman Rosen, Cherry Hill, N.J. The Rubin Pushky, Santa Ana, Ca.
- \$15,000 Perla and Jules Fox, Kfar Shmaryahu.
- \$24 In memory of Rabbi Avraham N. Avrutsky — Daniel Chumides, West Hartford, Ct.
- \$20 In honour of our grandchildren Noah Michael Cook, Naomi Deborah Cook, Sarah Gail Cook and Eli Baer Cook — Lea and Ted Cook, Philadelphia, Pa.
- \$15,000 In honour of the 80th birthday of Joel Paschke — L. and L. Kanitz, Haifa.
- \$15,000 Bessie Labo, Haifa. Gerry Pearl, Tel Aviv. In memory of dear ones who died too young — R.B., Haifa. S. Swinsky, Jerusalem.
- \$15,000 In living memory of my parents Clara and Louis Wallach, — Erika Keness, Herzliya.
- \$10 In memory of Yosef Zyserman, good friend and colleague, Director of Beit Avot Mishan — Dr. and Mrs. Harold Wenslow, Birmingham, Alabama.

Below is a list of Toy Fund donors published earlier last week in the daily edition of The Jerusalem Post.

- \$1,000 Robert Klein, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
- \$1,200 In honour of our granddaughters Tali-Alexandra and Hedi-Nirah Ohry — Dr. and Mrs. Edward Kosoy, Geneva, Switzerland.
- \$100 In thanks to the Almighty for watching over me and saving me from certain death — Sam Rosenberg, Brooklyn, N.Y. In honour of our Israeli cousins — Sherry and Stuart, Los Angeles, Ca.
- \$72 Four times Hal from L.A. Carrie, Rosele and Dini Bauer, Lawrence, N.Y.
- \$71 Mount Jewish Center, Elmont, N.Y.
- \$25 Anonymous, Chicago, Ill. Manfred Anson, Bergenfield, N.J., proceeds of lecture given to Hadassah Succowanna, N.J.
- \$32 Emanuel Herszkovitch in honour of family Jacob and Esther Herszkovitch, Ramat Gan and cousins Ruben and Asher.
- \$21 Joel Alexander Herszkovitch in honour of cousin Shy and Goldie Zivli, Ramat Gan and friends Moshe and Judith Aloni, Nahariya.
- \$1540 Ari Greenbaum, Jerusalem.
- \$1500 In loving memory of my father who always showed his fondness for children — the Radosky.
- \$10 Children of the United Hebrew School, Newport, R.I. Dovi, Rachel and Hadara Rahmowitz, Newton, Mass.
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Here is a second list of "Forsake Me Not" donors published in The Jerusalem Post daily last week:

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IS300 The English-Speaking Section of the Golden Age Club, Herzliya. Dr. Margit Hohenberg, Haifa. Alice Factor, Kiryat Tivon. Dr. C.K. Haifa.

IS100 In memory of my beloved mother Rae Frankenthal — Sara Greenblatt, Lachish Daron, Gusty Hayon, Haifa, eighth contribution.



Below is a list of Toy Fund donors published earlier last week in the daily edition of The Jerusalem Post.

- \$1,000 Robert Klein, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
- \$1,200 In honour of our granddaughters Tali-Alexandra and Hedi-Nirah Ohry — Dr. and Mrs. Edward Kosoy, Geneva, Switzerland.
- \$100 In thanks to the Almighty for watching over me and saving me from certain death — Sam Rosenberg, Brooklyn, N.Y. In honour of our Israeli cousins — Sherry and Stuart, Los Angeles, Ca.
- \$72 Four times Hal from L.A. Carrie, Rosele and Dini Bauer, Lawrence, N.Y.
- \$71 Mount Jewish Center, Elmont, N.Y.
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\$100 In the hope that all Christians will adopt "Forsake Me Not" as a pet charity — Harry J. Maskell, Vancouver, B.C., Canada. In thanks to the Almighty who has watched over me and saved me from certain death — Sam Rosenberg, Brooklyn, N.Y.

\$1180 In honour of our mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother Mrs. Bertha Kosoy on her 95th birthday — Mr. and Mrs. Edward Kosoy and Family, Geneva, Switzerland.

\$54 In loving memory of my dear husband George Yudin and my beloved father Joseph Rubenstein and in honour of my cherished mother, Rae Rubenstein in her 90th year — Florence Yudin, Ashkelon.

\$50 Anonymous, Chicago, Ill. Mac and Sidney Bobick, Fort Lauderdale, Fl.

IS1,750 Anonymous, Petah Tikva.

IS1,500 In loving memory of our beloved Jeff, his parents and his brother Tony, a family who will never grow old — Beryl, Shirley and Toni Balason, Raanana.

IS1,300 Bridge Party 12, Jerusalem.

\$39 In honour of the wedding of Robin and Howard Teitelbaum, with love from their parents, West Hempstead, N.Y.

\$30 In memory of my daughter Clara Mayer Winston and her father Morris Mayer — Jeannette Schreiber, Brooklyn, N.Y.

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## FOCUS

# V.S. Naipaul wins Jerusalem Prize

By MARSHA POMERANTZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The 1983 Jerusalem Prize for literature will go to V.S. Naipaul, novelist, travel writer and observer of society and politics in the Third World. Naipaul, 51, was born in Trinidad to a family of Brahmin descent, but has spent most of his life in England.

The prize, announced at a press conference last week by Mayor Teddy Kollek, will be awarded on April 27, during the 11th Jerusalem International Book Fair.

The prize jury — Chairman Prof. Ephraim Katzir, Hebrew University philosophy Prof. Yirmiyahu Yovel, and writer A.B. Yehoshua — cited Naipaul for his "successful portrayal of the struggle of the individual to maintain freedom and independence in societies where, despite revolution and political struggle for independence, there exists a spiritual decline towards violence and corruption."

Among his best-known books are *An Area of Darkness* (1964), about



V.S. Naipaul

his first confrontation with the India his grandfather left, and his novels *In a Free State* (1971), *Guerillas* (1975) and *A Bend in the River* (1979). His latest book, *Among the Believers* (1981), is a critical look at "Khomeinism" and the increasing militancy of Islam in other countries.

Katzir, in explaining the choice, noted that Naipaul is both of the Third World and critical of it.

The prize includes a trip for two to Israel, plus \$3,000. The first recipient of the prize was Bertrand Russell, in 1963, and the most recent, in 1981, was Graham Greene.



Elit Hollander, 5, plants a tree in Jerusalem's Kiryat Hayovel neighbourhood last Thursday for Tu B'Shvat, the New Year for Trees. A Jewish National Fund spokesman predicted that about 250,000 people would plant trees across the country in the week of plantings following Tu B'Shvat — the 15th day of the Jewish month of Shvat. Jerusalem school children were to distribute 15,000 gift baskets in the

city's hospitals and homes for the elderly. President Yitzhak Navon launched Nature Week to coincide with the Tu B'Shvat celebrations. Navon praised activists of the Society for the Protection of Nature for raising awareness of the country's flora and fauna. More than 120 walking tours all over the country were to be held this week by the society.

(Rahumim Israeli)

## TV films on Hitler's rise to power

Israel Television is to broadcast this week a number of programmes marking the 50th anniversary of Adolf Hitler's rise to power and the destruction caused by the Nazis.

On Sunday, TV's correspondent in West Germany, David Witztum, will present a film on Germany today and how Germans view their past.

A co-production by German, English and Austrian TV dramatizing *The Opperman Brothers*, a novel by German author Leon Feuchtwanger, is to be broadcast on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday nights. It is to be shown simultaneously in the three countries that produced the film. The film is about a Jewish family in Germany at the time of Hitler's rise to power. A number of other features will be broadcast during the week.

The biennial fair is considered by many participants to be more of cultural than commercial importance. Publishers from over 40 countries are expected to be represented this year, and three special events are planned: a symposium on the future of publishing in the electronic era, another on teaching reading to the disadvantaged and a series of meetings between visiting and Israeli writers.

Both Kollek and Katzir said there is no political significance to the choice of Jerusalem Prize recipients, and Kollek added that many acceptance speeches in the past had been critical of Israel. He stressed that the book fair is a Jerusalem enterprise, "not a fair of the State of Israel."

The organizers of the fair report that because of the political situation there have been some cancellations by firms who participated in the past. However, they stress that registration is usually touch-and-go until the last minute, depending on day-to-day events in the Middle East.

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The chairman of the Jewish Agency's allya department, Raphael Kottlovitz, welcomes 45 French immigrants and their children who arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport. (M. Dekel)

THEY HAVE been jeered at, ridiculed, scorned, shunned, insulted. Their choice of career has played havoc with their social lives. They are a group of alert, intelligent and articulate young women who wish to serve their respective communities throughout America, and who are spending a year in Israel as part of their study course. The community service profession for which these 10 young women are studying is the rabbinate.

When interviewed by *The Jerusalem Post* at Hebrew Union College (HUC) in Jerusalem, one of the students admitted that even after she had made her commitment, she had difficulty envisaging her future because she had no role model. All the rabbis she knew were males and she, then on the verge of adolescence, was overawed by the magnitude of her decision. Coincidentally, in that same year, 1972, a determined young woman by the name of Sally Priesand made history as the first woman in America to be ordained into the Rabbinate.

However, it was not Priesand's determination alone which opened a once strictly male reserve to women. Since the inception of HUC, the Reform movement's rabbinical seminary, founded in 1875 in Cincinnati, women had been studying side by side with men, hoping to be ordained at the conclusion of their courses. For nearly a century, it was not to be. Reform Judaism had desegregated the synagogue, but it drew the line at women rabbis. There were some isolated instances of women lay preachers, but until a decade ago, there was no implementation of one of the most dramatic reforms in modern Jewish life.

Since 1972, more than forty women have been ordained. Most of them have congregational positions. Others serve as Hillel directors or directors of education. There is still a great deal of opposition among congregants of both sexes to a female rabbi; and even in those congregations where women in the pulpit have been accepted, albeit with initial reluctance, the attitude is not the same as it would be to a male.

Sarah Messinger of New York, one of the current crop of students, was appalled to hear her mother describe their local rabbi as "lovely" and "cute." "No one would say things like that about a male rabbi," contends Messinger. "I don't want anyone to look at me and decide that I'm lovely and cute." After 10 years of proving themselves, female rabbis are still judged by looks before learning.

There are lone voices in Conservative and Orthodox circles urging ordination for women, but if it took the Reform Movement such a long time to pave the way, it will take even longer in other strata.

As it is, the Reform movement is debating with itself on whether or not to admit women to its five-year



## Ordained course

Ten young women are at present at the Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem doing part of a course for the rabbinate being conducted in the U.S. Greer Fay Cashman talked to some of them about their decision to seek ordination.

Israel Rabbinic Programme at HUC, where standards are much higher than those of the American programme. In order to be eligible for the local programme, applicants must have a B.A. in Judaism from an Israeli university, and must be accepted for an M.A. in Judaism at the Hebrew University.

The Reform movement is, proportionately, not nearly as widespread in Israel as it is in America, in addition to which marriage and divorce formalities are controlled here by the Orthodox Rabbinate. As yet, Reform rabbis are not authorized to register marriages in Israel, though they do assist Orthodox rabbis in officiating at ceremonies at the request of some couples entering into marriage.

Meanwhile, two male Reform rabbis have applied to the Supreme Court to be recognized as authorized registrars of marriage.

The Reform movement in Israel

in certain respects parallels the situation of Israel in the Middle East.

Despite all the pressures exerted against it, the Reform movement — like Israel — has survived and flourished. But because of barriers put up by the Orthodox establishment, the Reform movement in Israel does not enjoy the autonomy which it has in the United States. A breakthrough in recognition could encourage more Reform Jews to make aliyah.

Under the status quo, according to Dr. Michael L. Klein, dean of students of HUC in Jerusalem, the chances of women being appointed rabbis in Israel "are at least as small" as those of men. The women students who were interviewed by *The Post* confirmed that they were not seeking to settle in Israel because here they will be unable to practise their professions. Once the Reform movement is officially recognized, the situation vis-a-vis women, is also bound to change.



Few if any of the women students could be described as militant feminists. All have leadership qualities, a desire to do something to help perpetuate Judaism, and a liking for working with people. They're not set on breaking the rules. They just don't want to be excluded from something they believe they can do well.

Sahara Davidowitz, the daughter of a Conservative rabbi, questioned as to whether she was breaking away from a stricter ideology, stated, "I'm not breaking away. If anything, I'm coming back. I've had very positive experiences with Reform congregations."

Most of Davidowitz's family lives in Israel. In Missouri, they were pillars of the Conservative congregation. In Israel, they have adopted an entirely secular way of life. Davidowitz represents a return to the fold: "My father thinks it's a good idea, but I wonder what my (Orthodox) grandfather would have said."

Initially, she took the rabbinical course just to improve her knowledge of Judaism, but on the basis of her positive experiences, is seriously considering the pulpit.

The women of HUC are not cloistered like nuns. Their individual interests, social and intellectual, cover the same broad spectrum as those of anyone else in their age group, but few people are willing to accept them on their own terms.

If one goes to a party and strikes up a conversation with a young man, it sounds something like this: "Are you a student?"

"Yes."

"What are you studying?"

"Rabbinate."

"You mean you're studying about rabbis?"

"No, I'm studying to be a rabbi."

"You've got to be kidding!"

"No, I'm serious. I want to be a rabbi." After this sinks in, the next gambits are:

"So why are you wearing jeans?"

"Why are you drinking? Shouldn't you be studying? Why do you go to parties at all?"

Other than sexism, the preconceived notion is that a rabbi — female or male — is a person who is aloof from society, not someone who is part of it.

Even when female rabbinical students (or ordained rabbis) penetrate the curtain of incredulity and convince people they come into contact with that they are not from another planet, they still face social problems. "There's still a stigma about men being husbands of rabbis," says Marcie Zimmerman of Missouri, "and those who do marry rabbis have a hard road to hoe."

The women also object to the undue familiarities taken with female rabbis who are frequently addressed by their congregants as "Rabbi Sally," "Rabbi Miriam" or "Rabbi Ruth." Such liberties are rarely

taken with male rabbis who are accorded more respect and addressed by their surnames.

Equally irksome for a female rabbi is the thought of being constantly under surveillance. If she is unmarried, the congregation is ready to set up a *chuppa* every time she is seen talking to an unattached male. If she is married, everyone watches for the first signs of pregnancy.

If she suffers within her own circles, it is often worse for her outside. One of the current students in Israel was invited to spend the Sabbath with an observant family. Among the other guests was a so-called Hassid who, upon learning about her studies, refused to sit at the same table, stating that it would be blasphemy, and later refused to join in the Havdala prayers if she were present in the room.

Attitudes such as these have, among other things, delayed the admission of women to the Israel Rabbinic Programme at Hebrew Union College. At a forum held in Jerusalem last June to debate the advisability of admitting women, even Orthodox participants did not entirely negate the concept of a woman rabbi, but suggested that rather than lead a congregation, she should serve as a pre-marital counsellor, an arbitrator in private courts of justice, as a teacher for other women, and as a partial officiant at marriage ceremonies. The latter role was considered seemly because 50 per cent of the participants in a marriage are women and, therefore, women should also be given officiating functions at weddings.

HUC's Klein, who participated in the forum, refused to accept distinctions made by several speakers between the various functions of rabbis, in which women were relegated to counselling or education or Jewish law. "We cannot establish second-rate ordination for women," he says. Klein himself is the product of an Orthodox environment, and studied at three of the major Orthodox yeshivot in America before discovering that the Reform movement held more attraction for him. While there was general agreement among the forum participants, who represented a wide cross-section of Israel society, that women should be admitted to the rabbinate, some of the most liberal among them — supporters of the fight for women's rights — had reservations about the appropriateness of the timing. Politics being what they are in Israel today, admission of women to the Israel Rabbinic Programme may rock the boat too hard.

Klein is confident that in the long run, women will undertake the full five-year programme in Israel and will be duly ordained. How long that will take, he does not even dare to guess. But if the subject is already being debated, thought may evolve into action sooner than he thinks.

## Study on how to ease divorce

Acting Supreme Court Justice Elisha Sheinbaum will head a seven-member committee to find new ways of implementing family laws so as to alleviate problems of divorcing couples and their children, the Justice Ministry has announced.

Other committee members include Judge Aharon Melamed, president of the Haifa Juvenile Court, Dr. Nahum Rukover, expert on Jewish Law in the ministry, and four other legal experts — one of whom is a woman. They are to submit their recommendations to Justice Minister Moshe Nissim.

The minister, according to his spokesman, decided to form the committee after concluding that litigating parties often suffer in court and often use their children in their suits and counter-suits, thereby harming them psychologically.

The committee is to examine procedures and client-advocate relations, and to suggest changes in the arrangement of alimony.

## ART

THE HUGE exhibition at the Israel Museum devoted to the Old Bezalel School (1906-1929) must inevitably have a profound effect on anyone interested in the art history of this land. The sentimental values and *gauch* mentality and traditions that often permeated art at the Old Bezalel did not survive the clash with the culture of young Tel Aviv, which celebrated a new type of aliyah and settler, as well as giving more than a nod to modernist painting of the time. In turn, the new Eretz Yisraeli genre painting celebrated from Jaffa to Tiberias survived until it was submerged in the New Horizons revolt.

The New Horizons group was the last truly Israeli movement (despite its often French sources). Since then, Israel has been submitted to all the international schools; the current New Wave of "Post-Modernism" is not much different here than anywhere else.

In the meantime, the Bezalel period was virtually forgotten, or dismissed as "nostalgia."

When the Bezalel National Museum was incorporated in the new Israel Museum nearly two decades ago, its holdings were ruthlessly weeded out by Adviser Willem Sandberg, the famous Dutch curator who had a keen eye for good painting but little feeling for what much early Eretz Yisraeli painting meant to us as part of our heritage. What the current Bezalel show has shown us is that even the kitschiest Hanukkah lamp has an important historical connotation.

Parallel to the rich collection of arts and crafts in the 1500-item Old Bezalel display in the Israel Museum's Sertus Gallery, a large show of works by noted teachers at the Old Bezalel has been mounted in the Goldsmuntz Gallery. Both of these exhibitions make a new consideration enormously clear: the Israel Museum must begin planning a permanent display of works from the Old Bezalel period.

Such a display, possibly a rotating one, could find a natural place in the planned Israeli pavilion, which, in addition to presenting contemporary events, should also provide a guided tour of the highlights of Israeli art since its very beginnings.

Another logical — indeed essential — venue for a rotating show of Bezalel arts and crafts, is the new Verkauf Building on Mount Scopus, now being remodelled to accommodate the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design. Today's Bezalel students can take pride in — and even draw some inspiration from — many of the objects produced here seven decades ago.

Now is the time to find someone to set up a fund for buying back a collection of Bezalel treasures that could be shared on an exchange basis by both institutions.

THE EXHIBITION of works by early Bezalel teachers is a somewhat unbalanced affair, dictated by what was obtainable. The lion's share is provided by Abel Pann (1883-1963) who taught at the Bezalel in 1913-14 and again in the Twenties, having been caught in Paris by the war. The Russian-born, Paris-trained Pann was easily the most skilled illustrator of the Yishuv; and his compelling (and often reproduced) biblical images, like the terror-stricken eye of Isaac, have haunted several generations of Israelis. This show comprises not only his occasionally humorous and often moving lithographs of illustrations to the Bible, but also his masterly dramatizations of the Kishinev pogroms and German atrocities.

## A chapter of history saved

By MEIR RONNEN



Abel Pann: "Polphar's Wife," pastel, 1945.

Pann was a virtuoso draftsman and a brilliant hand at composition. His famous pastels were often tenebrous and tinged with a fashionable orientalism, but there is no doubt that he brought a sensuous and original point of view to the biblical narrative.

Two of Pann's finest pastel "portrait" paintings bring out this point. His "Sarah" is a child-bride in a magnificent head-dress, a young 11-year-old who is already a woman. "Polphar's Wife" (1945) is no blowy harridan but a bored 14-year-old nymph, irritated beyond patience at having nobody to play with. Both of these portraits are studies in character that go beyond mere cyphers.

Pann's earthy insights make the skilled sculptures, copper reliefs and painted plasters by Boris Schatz (1866-1932) look like academic exercises in sentimental heroics. Interestingly, there are two heads made in 1902 when he was modelling Bulgarian folk genre while teaching at the Academy in Sofia. Schatz was shaken out of his Bulgarian idyll by the Kishinev pogroms and his wife's defection with a student who was to become Bulgaria's leading sculptor. He not only founded the Bezalel School but brought to it an East European Jewish (not halutz) nationalism that is so evident in the rest of the pieces on show: prophets and teachers with venerable beards, their thinness conveying ascetic spirituality. His famous repousse copper of a woman lighting the Sabbath candles is a portrait of his second wife, Olga (Schatz, a teacher with a venerable beard, was the antithesis of his figures, being rather short and tubby).

Polish-born Shmuel Hirszenberg (1865-1908) was a natural choice for Schatz, being very close to him in outlook as a Jewish propagandist. There is more than a touch of German influence to his work (he studied in Munich and exhibited with the 'Secession') despite his preoccupation with Jewish themes. His "Wandering Jew" (1899) is an incredible synthesis of German 19th century heroic painting and Jewish consciousness; and it conveys a horrifyingly accurate premonition of the Holocaust. Hirszenberg came to the Bezalel in 1908 and died there



Boris Schatz: "Moses," plaster.



Aharon Shaul Schur: Head of a Judge, Vienna, 1892.

the same year. The selection here is small.

Ephraim Moshe Lilien (1874-1925) was another East European Jew who made his way to Munich to

study. An outstanding exponent of decorative Jugendstil, he illustrated many Zionist books. He arrived with Schatz in 1906 to make carpet designs, fell out with the tyro headmaster and left after a few months, returning for a visit in 1910 and again, as an officer in the Austrian army, in 1914. One of his large painted cartoons for a figurative carpet-cum-mural, with unusually banal figures, forms the centrepiece of his selection.

The other famous name accorded a fair number of paintings here is Aharon Shaul Schur (1864-1945), who founded the department of miniature painting, ivory and enamel at the Bezalel in 1913 and headed it until the school closed in 1929. Born in Russia, Schur studied in Vilna, Vienna and Berlin.

Also represented is Lazar Kreslin (1868-1938) who taught painting at the Bezalel in 1910 and left a strong mark on its portraiture. His early European heads show a sound academicism, but as with Schur, his later ones betray the fatal influence of Schatz' influence and ideology.

These East European Jews turned to Germany and France for their education; and to Jewish sources for the expression of their ideals. The work of each is readily identifiable, but only Pann was able to develop a style and iconography of his own. The Bezalel teachers spawned no imitators; the times had passed them by. But they gave their students the tools of their trade.

THE LARGE (400-page) comprehensive catalogue to the Bezalel show will become a collectors' item. Inexplicably, the Israel Museum has printed only 2,000 copies in Hebrew (another 2,000 in English are to be published, hopefully fairly soon). Like many other fine Israel Museum catalogues, this one will soon be out of print. A little market research would surely save the Museum reprint expenses.

Entitled "Schatz's Bezalel," the catalogue, edited and introduced by the exhibition's curator, Nurit Shilo-Cohen, is replete with entertaining and informative essays, chiefly by Gideon Ofrat of the Bezalel Academy and Igal Zalmona, curator of Israeli art at the Museum) on every part of the Bezalel's history. They place Schatz, his work, his school and the Bezalel teachers in a much needed socio-historical perspective; and deal with every type of product that emerged from the school. There are also potted biographies of the leading teachers and even a facsimile of a report card (of student Shulamit Wittenberg).

The catalogue also brings out several aspects of the Bezalel not dealt with in the exhibition itself, notably the parallel establishment by Schatz of the Bezalel Museum, which was, after all, one of his most enduring achievements. Ofrat traces how Schatz used the Museum as an instrument to influence his students, mixing archaeological finds, local flora and fauna, Jewish ethnology and Jewish-themed art.

There must be over a thousand reproductions in this handsome book, but unfortunately many of the photographs that are fascinating historical curiosities have been reduced to the size of postage stamps.

By contrast, there are full-page blow-ups of rings and artifacts that could have been rendered half their size.

Still, the catalogue is a splendid effort and an important acquisition for anyone interested in the history of this country.

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Nov 7, 1982-March 7, 1983

### NORTH AMERICA

EST	CST	MST	PST
7 p.m.	6 p.m.	5 p.m.	4 p.m. (*)
8 p.m.	7 p.m.	6 p.m.	5 p.m. (*)
9 p.m.	8 p.m.	7 p.m.	6 p.m. (*)
Midnight	11 p.m.	10 p.m.	9 p.m. (**)

(\*) On those frequencies:  
11655 kHz — 25 metre band  
9815 kHz — 31 metre band  
7410 kHz — 40 metre band

(\*\*) On those frequencies:  
11637 kHz — 25 metre band  
11610 kHz — 25 metre band  
9815 kHz — 30 metre band  
9420 kHz — 31 metre band

### UNITED KINGDOM & EUROPE (GMT)

5 a.m. — 11637, 11610, 9815, 9420 kHz — 25, 30, 31 metre bands  
12 midday — 21625, 21495, 17630, 15685 kHz — 13, 17, 19 metre bands  
8 p.m. — 11637, 9815, 9420 kHz — 25, 30, 31 metre bands  
1030 p.m. — 15685, 13748, 11655, 9815 kHz — 19, 21, 25, 30 metre bands

### SOUTH AFRICA (GMT + 2 Hours)

10 p.m. — 17085 & 9005 in the 17 & 31 metre bands

### AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTHEAST ASIA

(GMT + 10 hours) Melbourne

Time

3 p.m. — 21710 & 11637 kHz in the 13 & 25 metre bands

10 p.m. — 15605 kHz in the 19 metre band

For complete schedule write to:

ENGLISH SERVICE, Kol Israel, P.O.B. 1082, 91010 Jerusalem, Israel

## Human rights and the media

CANADIAN journalist Lily Tasso of "La Presse," Montreal, was given an honourable mention at the Media Human Rights Awards ceremony held recently in Toronto by the Canadian B'nai B'rith League for Human Rights.

She was cited for a series of seven articles on the disabled.

The Media Human Rights Awards were initiated in 1974 to call public attention to the important role of the media in altering, informing and sensitizing the public to

the nature and value of human rights.

The honour accorded to Lily Tasso is of particular interest to Israeli members of A.H.P.E. (the International Association of Women and Home Page Journalists). In May of last year, Israeli delegates to the A.H.P.E. convention in Hungary helped to elect Tasso to the presidency of the organization.

The next A.H.P.E. convention will be held in Israel in 1984.



# Share market: anatomy of a near-crash

By MACCABEE DEAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — One of the most remarkable things about the current stock market crash is that most investors — often a euphemism for speculators — don't remember that the last serious market decline was less than a year ago.

Only one person, who has established a reputation for being "solid" in financial matters, could rattle off all the dates of the recent slumps. Several of them, like November 1977, April 1980 and February 1982, should have been remembered by any adult.

The second most remarkable thing is that with very few exceptions, all those questioned said "never again; in the future I'm going to stick to very, very reliable investments." Only after a bit of juggling did a few admit that they had used the phrase "never again" only eleven months ago.

This caused one person to note that the market would again boom when memory dimmed. He thought that would be very soon, probably within a few weeks, when the huge cost-of-living allowances will be paid, when the short-term savings funds issued by the banks around election time at the request of the Finance Ministry as part of the Likud's political campaign, can be redeemed. "There will be plenty of money then, and everybody will say, 'I've learned my lesson, this time I'll beat the market.'"

For those interested in

reinvesting, the advice garnered from several sources was somewhat similar: "If you want to insure the value of your money, invest in the stocks of the Big Three banks, for if they collapse, everything will collapse." One person ruled out foreign currency, "since at present it is a sure loser, due to the government's policy of not allowing foreign currency to keep pace with the cost-of-living index."

The unit trusts were a moot point. Some people said they were still a safe investment, others noted that "some of the strongest took a terrible beating during the current crash."

As for those who simply want to speculate, "the best thing to do is to buy something which fell by 50 or 60 per cent during the past few days. It is certain to rebound."

Another remarkable fact became apparent from the mini-survey made last week. Those who panicked first and sold first, who dumped everything immediately, came out the best. They sold before the selling wave really began to build up momentum. And if they want to get back into the market, they can do so at low prices.

Those who waited a day or more to sell, suffered much more. And those who held on, and are still holding on, will probably be among the biggest losers. For even those with short memories last week, even those who said the market would recover, did not believe that



The half-puzzled, half-resigned expression on the face of this investor, photographed in front of a Tel Aviv bank's investment advisory office last Tuesday, seems an accurate reflection of the public's mood then. (IPPA)

it would reach its former level in the near or distant future.

As one person said, "In New York, we say the first loss is the easiest loss — so take it." He also added after stressing that he himself had pulled out of all "even faintly speculative stocks" at the end of December, "it never pays to be a pig. As we say in New York, the bears and the bulls always make money, but the pigs, never do."

Where did those who pulled out of the market, with small or great losses, place their money? Most of it went into "certificates of deposit"

(Tapazim), where a fairly high interest rate is paid (But the deposits must be at least about \$50,000) and from which the money can be withdrawn at short notice. Others said that a lot of the money was borrowed, and the speculators paid off their loans and are now sitting on their profits, looking again for easy money.

"How is it possible that many stocks fell by 20, 30, 40, 50 and even 60 per cent," we asked one broker. "Simply because they are now approaching their real value," he answered. "In some cases, these shares are still over-priced, despite the great drop in price. I advise each person to go back to the old fashioned P/E formula, that is, the relationship between the price of a share and the earnings of the company."

What caused the present near-crash? All those questioned were in agreement that "nearly everybody knew that almost all shares, even those of the Big Three banks (Bank Leumi, Bank Hapoalim and Discount Bank) are overpriced. Everybody knew a crash was inevitable. And they were poised to sell at the flick of a finger."

Nervousness began to build up after Dr. Meir Heth, board chairman of the exchange announced and later retracted his resignation. It gathered strength after publication of the Finance Ministry's plan to regulate the amount of shares the unit trusts could hold in any specific company.

"Then the really nervous investors began to sell, and the panic began to snowball."

Another thing became apparent last week. The shekel has been abandoned as a unit of measurement. Investors and of course speculators, use the dollar as their basic currency. (One person used the basket of European currencies).

They take the total amount of their holdings, in "funny money," divide by the figure published daily by the Bank of Israel, and find how much they have in "real money."

Did Finance Minister Yoram Aridor deliberately start the panic? Some persons thought yes, others said no. One person even thought that the Big Three banks had started the selling wave, "because they are not only bankers, they are also brokers, and make money buying and selling, as well as by speculating." At any rate, everybody agreed that Aridor was the loser in the near-crash, because he lost political credibility, "even if the crash was good for the country."

Everybody seemed to agree that with the exception of those who pulled out before the near-crash, the only institutional winner in the past few days were the Big Three banks, the big loser was the Rieger-Fishman group, the dominant force in the share market in 1982. The Rieger-Fishman group is an investment company that controls several unit trust funds and the Ronit mutual fund. At its peak, the group's assets were valued at \$9 billion (\$300m.)

## Embassies to help push exports

Post Economic Reporter

Guidelines for an unprecedented marketing effort by Israeli export authorities were drawn up during an emergency conference of the country's commercial attaches in Europe, which took place in The Hague last week.

The conference was convened by Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Palt in view of the drop in the country's exports last year and the present difficulties facing exporters.

The ministry's director-general, Avraham Asheri, presented to the attaches a special plan to increase exports. The programme includes participation in commercial fairs and increased efforts to get potential purchasers to visit Israel.

The conference decided to increase marketing efforts in European countries which now do not have a large Israeli presence, especially Austria, the Scandinavian countries, Portugal and Greece.

## Rates of exchange

January 27, 1983	U.S. dollar
British sterling	35.5719
German mark	54.7576
French franc	14.6176
Dutch guilder	5.1535
Swiss franc	13.2657
Swedish krona	17.8417
Norwegian krone	4.9584
Japanese yen	4.1501
Italian lire	26.7581
Spanish peseta	6.5953
Portuguese escudo	204.483
Belgian franc	36.6524
Australian dollar	33.3220
South African rand	7.4434
Israeli sheqel (10)	20.8175
Israeli sheqel (100)	2.08175
Japanese yen (100)	15.0314

## Headlight factory

Mishor Adumim — the industrial sector of the West Bank settlement of Ma'ale Adumim — has a new factory: Technolights.

Established by Italian and Israeli investors, the company will manufacture automobile headlights, emergency warning triangles and other car accessories. Most of the output will go for export to Europe and Africa and production is geared to meet European road safety standards.

Beni Benin, an immigrant from Eritrea and one of the Israeli investors, told *The Jerusalem Post* last week that the firm estimates its annual sales abroad will be \$3m., and to the local market, \$650,000.

## \$400 million profit now estimated for Med-Dead canal

By CHARLES HOFFMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The profit estimates of the Mediterranean-Dead Sea project have flipped again, with the release last week of figures by Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i showing a net economic benefit of \$400 million for the ambitious hydroelectric project. Last month Moda'i said that the project was only a "break-even" proposition.

Moda'i made the announcement in Jerusalem after two days of deliberations on the final economic and engineering feasibility studies of the project.

The ministry decided that detailed planning for the project would start soon, with construction to begin in the 1984/85 fiscal year and finish by 1992.

The final recommendation to go

ahead with the project was submitted to Moda'i two weeks ago by Prof. Shlomo Eckstein and Prof. Yuval Ne'eman, based on their reviews of the feasibility studies.

Eckstein headed a committee in the early 1970s that examined proposals for generating hydroelectric power with water brought from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea.

Ne'eman, who is now science and development minister, headed a committee set up in 1977 that recommended running a canal and tunnel system about 100 kilometres across the Negev to a hydroelectric power plant at the outlet at the Dead Sea. The 800 megawatt capacity plant is supposed to produce electricity only at peak-consumption hours.

The figures showing a \$400m.

profit for the project over a 50-year period are based on what the project planners now consider to be reasonable assumptions about the interest rates on the capital needed to invest in the project and on the future prices of the fuels to be replaced by hydroelectric power. Higher fuel prices in the future would increase the benefits from the project.

The current estimates indicate a six per cent interest rate and a projected rise of one per cent per year in the price of coal and oil.

Moda'i's assessment last month that the benefits would equal the cost of the project were based on more pessimistic assumptions of an eight per cent interest rate and no increase in the price of fuels.

The projected cost of the canal was also recently revised upward,

TEL AVIV STOCK EXCHANGE									
Prices published by Leumi Securities Corp., 18 East 4th St., New York, N.Y. 10017. Phone toll free 800-221-4838.									
Yearly high and low figures are based on the exchange rate of \$15.60 to the dollar.									
High	Low	Price in U.S. dollars	High	Low	Price in U.S. dollars	High	Low	Price in U.S. dollars	High
20.12	20.12	(15.60 \$)	20.12	20.12	(15.60 \$)	20.12	20.12	(15.60 \$)	20.12
12	05	1.00	12	05	1.00	12	05	1.00	12
11	04	0.95	11	04	0.95	11	04	0.95	11
10	03	0.90	10	03	0.90	10	03	0.90	10
9	02	0.85	9	02	0.85	9	02	0.85	9
8	01	0.80	8	01	0.80	8	01	0.80	8
7	00	0.75	7	00	0.75	7	00	0.75	7
6	99	0.70	6	99	0.70	6	99	0.70	6
5	98	0.65	5	98	0.65	5	98	0.65	5
4	97	0.60	4	97	0.60	4	97	0.60	4
3	96	0.55	3	96	0.55	3	96	0.55	3
2	95	0.50	2	95	0.50	2	95	0.50	2
1	94	0.45	1	94	0.45	1	94	0.45	1
0	93	0.40	0	93	0.40	0	93	0.40	0
0	92	0.35	0	92	0.35	0	92	0.35	0
0	91	0.30	0	91	0.30	0	91	0.30	0
0	90	0.25	0	90	0.25	0	90	0.25	0
0	89	0.20	0	89	0.20	0	89	0.20	0
0	88	0.15	0	88	0.15	0	88	0.15	0
0	87	0.10	0	87	0.10	0	87	0.10	0
0	86	0.05	0	86	0.05	0	86	0.05	0
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0	15	0.00	0	15	0.00	0	15	0.00	0
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# THE JEWISH QUARTER: GRANDIOSE PLANS AND BASIC NEEDS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — One implication of the Jerusalem Committee meeting concerning the Jewish Quarter is that the residents have placed their own convenience before national urban renewal policy. Architect Salfie finds this thinking "preposterous." Frankly, I find his reaction as steep and soulless as the architectural slabs of concrete he has designed in the Old City — buildings completely out of scale with the gentle proportions of existing arches, domes and cupolas here — buildings transformed into kitsch.

There are serious problems the residents raise concerning the grandiose plan of the underground terminal — problems perhaps not raised at the meeting. As the quarter's development is well into its 15th year, infrastructure problems, myriads of them, have yet to be worked out. We, the residents are finally concluding that if we do not at last speak out, it may be too late. There is an inherent public-bested attitude about this place that must be corrected, and soon. Fifteen years and still inadequate schools, inadequate parking,

inadequate shopping. Other neighbourhoods quickly hurdle these inconveniences, while we, the 600 families and over 2,000 yeshiva students living here must still travel to town for a pharmacy, bakery, laundromat, and many other services not provided here.

Over one year ago, the only road leading to and from the quarter was closed for several months, the reason given was strengthening the infrastructure. During that time, bus service was cancelled. The elderly had quite a hike home in the heat of the summer, children walked home late at night through dark alleys. Repairmen refused to come. Worse yet, a woman almost died from burns because a fire truck couldn't navigate in on time.

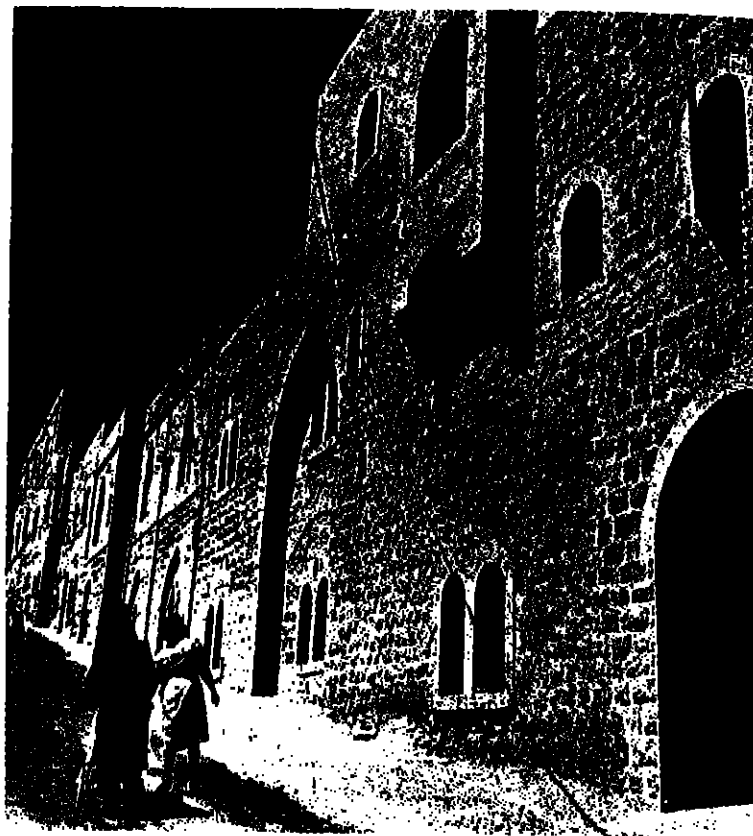
Later it was concluded that the road could have been repaired within days rather than months had there not been the haggling over who would finance the repairs. We shudder to think about the terminal — slated to take four years to complete — more than likely to take double that time, providing the

money allocated for it is sufficient to complete the job.

In short, we are getting wearisome of grandiose plans which do nothing to increase the beauty of this place, and do a lot to increase the ill feelings brought about by years of inconvenience. While I consider it a privilege to be living in the Old City — the pulse of Jerusalem — there are moments when alternatives are considered. Many residents have left over years and years of lost patience concerning the problems here. Let's hope that Salfie and Unger's plans are nothing more than delusions of grandeur, and that we, the residents can get on with living here.

We realize that the Jewish Quarter is not just any neighbourhood, but we are tired of the abuse of this phrase, used all too frequently by Unger and his staff to cover up the inefficiency and the poor planning that goes on here, particularly at the expense of the residents.

LINDA NESVISKY  
Jerusalem.



In the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem

## 'DISASTER AREA' IN JAFFA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Michal Yudelman's article of December 31 on the shocking housing conditions in Kfar Shalem presents the residents' opinion that "this state of affairs has been deliberately perpetrated... to get rid of the quarter's entire population so that high-rise buildings may be erected."

Similarly, a few weeks ago, The Post noted (in "Public Faces") that WIZO's plan to convert its former baby home into an old-age centre was blocked by Mayor Lahat because of a plan to use the space for high-income apartments. Lahat was quoted as saying he would not agree to another old-age home in Tel Aviv. However, Tel Aviv is known to have a very high percentage of elderly people in its population.

A third and most serious instance of this policy may also be found in the two Arab neighbourhoods of Jaffa. The complete degeneration of the housing there, the almost total lack of street lights, the absence of even one public trash container and the apparent efforts of our security forces to hinder effective citizen action has resulted in what can only be described as a disaster area.

The citizens of these neighbourhoods have chosen a committee of residents to act on their behalf — the Ravitah. Last year, after a young resident committed suicide because of accommodation difficulties enough publicity was generated so that residents were invited to testify before the Knesset Economic Committee. As a result, we understand, the committee recommended a plan for new housing to be built for the area's 15,000 residents over a five-year period. The final decision was to be taken by August 1982, but to date, none of Ravitah's letters of inquiry to the Knesset have been answered. Tel Aviv's renewal project for Jaffa apparently includes plans for



Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat

expensive villas and cottages on the site, but has no alternative housing plan for the resident Arab population. Mayor Lahat last year publicly suggested that these citizens should move to Lod or Ramle.

Another indication of the city's efforts to get the residents to leave is the state of the public schools. The quality of education is so low that every family who can pay for its children to attend private schools. Ravitah claims that, as a result, 50 per cent of Jaffa's Arab children are not attending any school, and of those who do, many finish school still illiterate.

These instances in Kfar Shalem and Jaffa, and the case of the WIZO home suggest that the city has a definite policy regarding physical renewal which does not concern itself with citizens' needs. As the man from Kfar Shalem said, "there is more to housing than bricks and cement."

BRACHA YANOVOV  
SHIMSHON NIKRUG  
Members of "The Action Committee of Jews and Arabs for the Jaffa Arabs"  
Herzliya and Tirat Yehuda.

## ANTI-SEMITISM ABROAD

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — It seems to me important that Israelis realize that, far from being a bulwark for Diaspora Jews against anti-Semitism as she was formerly, Israel has become, through the imperialist policy practiced on territories not hers and in

other people's states, a cause of new anti-Semitism where there was none. If Israelis are not indifferent to this consequence of Begin politics, they would be well advised to act on their concern.

ELAINE FRISCHAUER GROSSO  
Milan.

## A CONCERT REMEMBERED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Nowhere in all the publicity surrounding the Huberman Festival in Tel Aviv and the subsequent records of his talented career have I read any reference to the remarkable concert that Bronislaw Huberman gave at a remote village school in Belgium to soldiers of the Jewish Infantry Brigade Group in 1946.

Huberman had been invited to give a series of recitals at the Palais des Beaux Arts, Brussels, and was honoured by being the personal guest of that outstanding friend of Belgian Jews — Elisabeth, Queen Mother of the Belgians — and stayed at her palace.

As a young officer on the staff of the Brigade, I was deputed to make all the necessary arrangements with Huberman's secretary for a special concert he wished to give to the soldiers of the Brigade. In a small school near the town of Putte, we awaited the arrival with great excitement of that special hero who had founded the Palestine Orchestra and had survived an air-plane crash to regain mastery of his art. As he entered the school hall, the men rose and sang Hatikva with such feeling that to this day I hear it again and again.

A large contingent of men of the Brigade attended the public concert in Brussels and presented him with flowers. My own personal papers and photographs of the concert were handed over some years ago to the IDF archives, where they will be held in safekeeping for posterity.

DAVID SPECTOR  
Hove, East Sussex.



Bronislaw Huberman

## ISRAEL'S ENERGY NEEDS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I refer to D'vora Ben Shaul's article of January 23, "The price of power."

Israel, as a modern technological country, needs energy. The Ministry of Energy endeavours to provide that energy in the most up-to-date, safe and economic manner possible. We have concluded that we need a mix of energy sources to satisfy our needs. At present, the major practical options open to us are nuclear energy and coal.

Despite the uninformed notions of Ms. Ben Shaul, our modern coal plant at Hadera emits far less pollution than the older oil-burning plants. We and the environmental protection services are constantly monitoring emissions to protect the environment against pollution and acid rain. I dare say, the more Israel Electric and industry converts to coal, the cleaner will be our air.

So much misinformation has been spread about nuclear power plants that it is difficult to know where to start. Nuclear power plants have proven to be safe and the accidents that have occurred, including Three Mile Island, have generated more

heat in the press than radiation in the atmosphere. Needless to say, we will continue to study the matter very closely before final commitments will be made. Ms. Ben Shaul attacks our choice of sites for nuclear power. I find this very interesting, since no sites have yet been selected.

Finally, we cannot wait for future technologies. We are one of the most advanced nations in the world in utilizing solar energy. Yet we know that solar energy is not yet, if it ever will be, capable of carrying the burden of our energy needs. Fusion energy will probably not become available probably until the middle of the next century.

AVISHAI AMIR,  
Spokesman,  
Ministry of Energy  
Jerusalem.

## D'vora Ben Shaul comments:

A reliable source assures me that the committee appointed by Minister of Energy Modi' has chosen three alternate sites for nuclear power plants: near Beit Shmesh, on Nahal Besor and Halutza.

## DIZZING FIGURES IN THE BUDGET

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — When reading about Aridor's "trillion" budget in your issue of January 11, I was really frightened, until I realized that this was an American trillion, a figure with 12 zeros. In the United Kingdom, as well as on the European continent, a figure with 12 zeros is a billion, whilst an American billion has only 9 zeros. Then again, a European trillion, including the UK, would mean a figure with 18 zeros, i.e. 6 zeros more than in the USA — a dizzy, unreal figure for a person with a European background like me.

## PILOTS' WORKING HOURS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Your recent article covering the history of the problems in El Al was most interesting. I was particularly interested in the working hours and working rules, as I had just read an article in Business Week dated December 20

covering similar situations on major airlines in the United States. I find it noteworthy that pilots for Continental Airlines work 78 hours per month. El Al pilots refused to work 75 hours.

GABRIEL ALTER  
Toronto

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1983

## Where even shekels glitter

POVERTY was all the rage in the Knesset yesterday. The outcome of the debate was predictable: two no-confidence motions charging the government with responsibility for the recent growth of poverty in the country were brushed aside. But in the meantime the limelight was turned on a subject which does not, these days, seem to attract excessive attention.

The occasion for the Knesset debate was the publication, a fortnight ago, of a report on poverty by the National Insurance Institute. The report stated that, during the five years between 1977 and 1981, the number of families under the poverty line had grown from slightly under 3 to 6 per cent of the population. In absolute terms that meant that while in 1977 there were 14,000 poor families (64,300 persons), in 1981 the number was 33,900 families (153,200 persons).

It so happened that the five years reviewed in the NII report were mostly years of Likud rule. No wonder, growled the Alignment: the growth in poverty was the direct result of official economic and social policies ostensibly designed to "benefit the people."

Without waiting for the Knesset to take up the subject and render its partisan verdict, the Treasury rushed in to rebut any such conclusion. The poverty line, it was pointed out, is drawn by the NII at 40 per cent of the income level between the highest and the lowest salaries. The statistical concept of poverty is thus entirely relative, and does not imply a floor beneath which human existence is barely possible. Such dire poverty may be encountered in some Third World countries, but not in Israel.

Israel's poverty line is in fact set, for January 1983, at IS16,000 for a couple with two children, which is certainly nothing to crow about, but nothing to panic about either.

Moreover the NII's concept of poverty, adopted in the early 1970s, takes into account only straight income and "transfer payments," such as child allowances. The latter were indeed significantly eroded by inflation in recent years. But the NII must leave out of account a whole array of social services introduced, or expanded, during the past decade, such as housing schemes, community centres, day-care provisions and special school programmes, which were aimed mainly at the poor.

However, social welfare experts now lack any comprehensive set of indicators that would show to what extent these services have actually improved the condition of the poor relative to other groups. Such indicators would put the statistical concept of poverty, which focuses on income, in its proper perspective.

Much of the present debate on poverty is for this reason being conducted in a vacuum. But the Treasury's own conclusion that the picture emerging from the NII's report is essentially untrue to life, is itself unwarranted. Social services to the poor have been reduced in the past 2 or 3 years, for budgetary reasons.

This explains the urgency with which the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, a Tami bastion, is now pushing two pet remedies for the poverty problem — a minimum wage bill and a large families bill.

The condition of the poor in Israel, though often most deplorable, is not catastrophic. The poor are still a small minority, and they are not getting poorer. But, judging by such evidence as is available, their number is growing — the 1977-1981 trend was not reversed in 1982. This should offer food for thought, and cause for action.

## THE ORGANIZATION

known as the PLO is a terrorist organization committed to the destruction of the Jewish state. That Israel's government should have anything officially to do with the PLO, so long as it has not renounced terrorism as a chosen means and the elimination of Israel as its cherished end, is inconceivable. That any private Israeli citizen should have dealings with this PLO is highly undesirable.

Prohibitions on contacts with the PLO should, however, be subject to the rule of reason.

Over the years, Israel's government has on more than one occasion established a line of communication to the PLO.

MONDAY, JANUARY 24, 1983

Last year, a short-lived ceasefire was concluded in Lebanon which, though worked out through intermediaries and ostensibly made with the authorities in Beirut, was in fact an agreement with the PLO. The present administration, has lately been seeking, through the agency of ex-Knesset member Arye Ellav, a leading "dove," to secure an arrangement for the release of Israeli soldiers taken prisoner by the PLO in Lebanon.

Such contacts, dictated by dire need, did not amount to formal recognition. They did not undermine the moral cogency of Israel's insistence

## The Friday Dry Bones



FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1983

## Locked on Lebanon

THE DIFFERENCES that have emerged in the three-cornered talks between Israel, Lebanon, and the U.S. exist on several levels. The first is the level of the specific agenda of the talks. Here Israel's demands for elements of normalization, security arrangements in southern Lebanon, PLO and Syrian withdrawal and a role for Major Haddad, are poised against the political constraints that inhibit Lebanese flexibility. Those constraints derive from the domestic political forces playing upon President Amin Jemayel and the leverage deployed directly upon Lebanon by other Arab countries.

A second level of difference arises from the aims and apprehensions of American diplomacy. The U.S. wants to emerge as a winner from its in-

volvement in Lebanon. To do so it must help fashion acceptable security arrangements so that a Lebanese government can govern and so that terrorists cannot again provoke hostilities with Israel. But Washington — looking beyond Lebanon — also feels it must satisfy the demands of its suspicious Arab interlocutors, sternly resistant to granting Israel political profit from the war.

A third level of difference derives from the collapse of mutual trust and authentic communication between the Israel Government and the Reagan Administration. This gap existed before the Lebanese talks got underway. The talks have only enlarged it. Each side suspects the intentions of the other, to a degree that has already become irrational. In

Washington, there is now a tendency to believe that Israel wants to remain in Lebanon and stall the talks to win time against the Reagan design to detach Israel from the West Bank. And in Jerusalem it is feared that the U.S. is determined to deny Israel "the fruits of victory" in Lebanon, and make Israel bend in order to entice Jordan into negotiations on the West Bank...

The Prime Minister Begin, for his part, does not want this costly war, which escalated beyond his original perceptions, to be deprived of tangible political, as well as security, achievement. He has permitted his defence minister and chief of staff to define what that achievement must be.

In this circumstance, diplomacy has given way to a contest of will.

## Dissent and the law

that the international community, or at least the Free World, should boycott the terrorist PLO. Nor did they affect the right of Israel's government to urge private Israeli citizens to avoid the PLO. Nevertheless, private Israeli citizens who fail to heed the government's advice do not thereby breach the law, unless they at the same time uphold terrorism and compromise the state's security.

Last week's meeting between three Sheli leaders who also head the Council for Israel-Palestine Peace and Yasser Arafat has, however, caused an uproar in high

places. If such a meeting is not at the moment a punishable offence, a number of cabinet ministers have suggested, it should be made so by the Knesset. Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor has indicated his assent when he inquired how Israel could expect the world to understand it when people of the stature of the three Sheli leaders meet with "chief murderer" Arafat.

The world may also ask whether the official consternation in Jerusalem over last week's tête-à-tête in Tunis, where it evidently took place, was not due to the Likud government's fear that the

PLO might stage a sharp turn towards genuine moderation.

A PLO thus transmogrified would indeed be a grave embarrassment to a government which, in its own twist on the national consensus, has made it clear that it would not deal with the PLO under any conditions whatsoever. Such a government cannot very well argue that the Sheli leaders should have refused to talk to Yasser Arafat until he actually scrapped the Palestinian Covenant. It can only threaten punishment for the recurrence of such conversations.

Fortunately there are some voices within the government that are counselling against a hasty amendment of the law to suit a political exigency.